Citizenship and the Adult Education Movement in Canada

Gordon Selman

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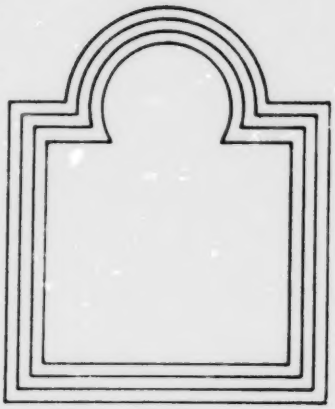

MONOGRAPHS ON COMPARATIVE AND AREA STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Jindra Kulich, General Editor

CENTRE FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
in co-operation with
THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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Gordon Selman

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To

Mark, Janet and Julia

For being what they are

and

who helped more than they know

Preface

Interest in the comparative study of adult education has been growing in many parts of the world since the first conference on comparative adult education held at Exeter, U.S.A. in 1966. This interest was given further impetus by meetings held at Pugwash, Canada in 1970, Nordborg, Denmark in 1972, Nairobi, Kenya in 1975, Oxford, England in 1987, Rome, Italy and Aachen, West Germany in 1988.

A number of international organizations, among those Unesco, the International Bureau of Education, the International Congress of University Adult Education, the European Bureau of Adult Education, O.E.C.D., the (now defunct) European Centre for Leisure and Education, the Council of Europe, and the International Council for Adult Education have contributed their share.

A growing number of universities in all five continents established courses in comparative adult education. Many other universities encourage students to deal with comparative study or with the study of adult education abroad in major papers and theses. The literature in this area has increased considerably since the early 1960s both in support and as a result of this university activity. A number of valuable bibliographies were published, cataloguing the growing wealth of materials available in a number of languages.

Most of the literature available on adult education in various countries can still be found primarily in articles scattered throughout adult education and social science journals. Until a few years ago there was no commercial publisher enticing researchers to submit manuscripts of monographs dealing with comparative and case studies of adult education in various countries, even though the need for such a publishing venture was stressed at a number of international meetings. It was with the intent to provide such service to the discipline and the field of adult education that the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of British Columbia, in cooperation with the International Council for Adult Education, decided in 1977 to publish a series of Monographs on Comparative and Area Studies in Adult Education.

In 1984 a major English publishing house in the field of education, Croom Helm, decided to establish a new series, the Croom Helm Series in International Adult Education. Dr. Peter Jarvis of the University of Surrey, an internationally recognized scholar and noted promoter of publishing in international adult education, was appointed editor of this new series. A number of volumes have been published in this series since 1984 and have enriched the literature in this

important field. The series has been taken over by Routlidge and is now published as International Perspectives on Adult and Continuing Education.

We are pleased to bring out the sixteenth volume in our series of monographs, *Citizenship and the Adult Education Movement in Canada*, by the well known Canadian historian of adult education, Gordon Selman. Certain innovative features of Canadian adult education, notably the National Farm Radio Forum and the Antigonish Movement, have had a significant impact on adult education practice abroad. All were in the realm of broadly defined citizenship education. Today, education for responsible citizenship is more crucial than ever before. Gordon Selman, through his insightful analysis, brings to us the story of the trials and tribulations of this important part of adult education as it evolved in Canada, highlights the contribution it made to the Canadian society, and asks some searching questions about the current state and the future of adult education. I am positive that this important book will be of interest and significance not only to Canadians but to many adult education colleagues throughout the world. In closing I would like to thank the Robert England Bequest Fund for financial support with publication of this volume.

Jindra Kulich
General Editor

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Citizenship and the Adult Education Movement in Canada

Introduction

There is no aspect of education in Canada which has had more significant impact on education in other countries than certain features of the field of adult education. This is somewhat ironic, perhaps, in the light of the relative lack of attention and low visibility which this field has been accorded here in our own country. Adult education has been termed the "invisible giant" of the educational scene and few Canadians, even those involved in education, are aware of the nature and full extent of adult education in this country. This picture is changing, but the fact that adult education is such a scattered and many faceted field, and that it is a secondary or marginal enterprise in so many of its institutional or organizational settings, results in the difficulty of comprehending the full dimensions of this activity. Yet the most recent Statistics Canada study revealed that almost one in every five adult Canadians takes part in adult education courses of some kind each year—something in excess of three million of our citizens (Statistics Canada 1984).

It is not the scale of participation in adult education in Canada, however, (such figures are higher in some other countries) that explains its high reputation elsewhere, but rather the innovative nature and high quality of what has been accomplished within certain projects. One may generalize further and say that almost all of the programs which have attracted such attention in other countries fall within the concept of citizenship education, broadly conceived. They are concerned with the relationship between the individual and his or her society, be it the local community or the broader national or international scene.

The fact that knowledgeable persons outside Canada hold adult education in this country in such high esteem is not the starting point for this study, however. Rather, the author is interested in assisting with the process through which Canadians themselves may come to a fuller appreciation of our country's heritage in this field. It is my contention that citizenship education, in the broad sense of that term, may justifiably be seen as the central tradition and the area of the most noteworthy projects in adult education in Canada. This is not the opinion of the author alone. A survey I conducted in the mid-seventies among some of the best-informed adult educators in English-speaking Canada indicated that in the opinion of those consulted, the top five Canadian contributions to the field of adult education, and eight of the top ten, fell within the area of citizenship education (Selman 1975).

It is important to make the point that it is not being suggested here that such projects are the most "important" projects in Canadian adult education. That is

quite another question and calls for judgments which are beyond the present intentions. What is being claimed, rather, is that throughout the history of adult education in this country, especially during the present century, it is in the field of citizenship education in the broadest sense of that term that Canadians seem to have been most innovative and outstanding in their efforts. This may be judged from the perspective of Canadians' view of their own performance or on the basis of the number of Canadian projects or methodologies which have been borrowed and adapted for use in other nations. It may also be assessed on the basis of where many of the most outstanding leaders in the field have directed their energies.

In the pages of this volume the author tells the story of some of these major accomplishments in Canadian adult education. There are already available writings about most, if not all of these programs. On some we have very little information, but on others—most notably the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia—we have a great deal. But we have no general history of adult education in Canada, and the present volume is an attempt to deal with a part of the field, that related to citizenship education, and especially the story of some of the most noteworthy projects.

It is small wonder that Canadians have directed their energies to citizenship education. We are a nation of immigrants. Except for the Native people of Canada, we or our forebears have been immigrants to this land. We have all had to learn to get along, economically and socially, in this northern half of the North American continent. But our pre-occupations as residents of Canada have not been confined to "adjusting" to an already established Canadian national identity. As a people—or peoples—we have continually over the decades faced the dilemma of discovering just what that "Canadian identity" was, and with struggling to achieve what we thought it should be. The complexities arising from a history involving two founding nations and an increasingly multicultural society have rendered this a complicated, and at times troubled and troubling task.

Some of our most notable efforts in the field of adult education have related to dimensions of this challenge. The National Film Board of Canada (NFB) and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) were created in the main to assist with the task of nation building and they were involved in helping Canadians to play an active role as citizens through several of the best known accomplishments in citizenship education—the NFB's effective domestic distribution system and their Challenge for Change projects; and the CBC's role in National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and other programs. The Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia and much of the far-flung activity of the co-operative movement in Canada engaged people in thinking and acting together. Frontier College was for most of its history concerned with assisting immigrants and other Canadians to gain an understanding of Canadian society and to acquire the basic education which would enable them to make their way in it. The Women's Institutes organization was aimed at improving the quality of life for rural women and was a vehicle for

joint action of various kinds to this end. The Canadian Association for Adult Education, which created the Farm Forum and Citizens' Forum projects and co-operated with the CBC in carrying them out, also contributed to the social, cultural and educational development of Canada in the post Second World War decades through another of its creations, the Joint Planning Commission. These are some of the projects which will be described in the following chapters and which substantiate the claim that citizenship education may be seen to be the central tradition of much of what is best known about adult education as it has developed in this country.

It is instructive to note the contrast in this respect between Canada and the United States. The republic to the south has, like Canada, also been an immigrant nation. But with the important exception of adult education's role in the "Americanization" process, there has not developed as strong a tradition as has been the case in Canada of the involvement of adult education in education for citizenship. The explanation for this may lie in the greater pre-occupation in American society with individual rights and mobility—the "American dream"—in contrast with the greater tendency in Canada towards reliance upon and development of the community. The tradition of "communitarianism" in Canada is addressed in Chapter 2 and may be at the heart of the explanation as to why Canadians have focussed so much of their attention and creative energies on what has been termed "the imaginative training for citizenship".

In the first chapter of this study, the concept of citizenship education is examined, against the background of the different styles of citizenship which have evolved in Canada in the present century. Chapter 2 considers the features of Canadian history and society which are particularly relevant to our approach to citizenship education and indicates in broad outline the nature of adult education's response and something of the international reputation Canada has enjoyed in this field. In Chapter 3 the special case of the Canadian Association for Adult Education is examined, it having been such an important force in education for citizenship.

A more detailed description of programs and projects in citizenship education follows in the next three chapters. Some arbitrary decisions have been made in this account, but generally, Chapter 4 describes programs related to the needs of immigrants and to ethnic groups; Chapter 5 deals with those which attempt mainly to create an informed citizenry and to dispose Canadians to play an active part in the democratic system; and Chapter 6 focuses on programs which are more directly involved in attempts to bring about social change. It is impossible to know where learning "stops" in the lives of any of us, so the typology on which these three chapters are based may be somewhat artificial, but it is hoped that it serves a useful purpose for the present circumstances.

In a final chapter, an attempt is made to sum up some current trends in Canadian society and adult education and to indicate some important choices

Canada must make in terms of how we are going to handle citizenship education in the future.

The author regrets that very little information appears in this study concerning developments in the Province of Quebec. The tendency towards "two solitudes" which exists in Canadian society as a whole is reflected in the field of adult education. This is perhaps reinforced in this particular field by the constitutional provision which assigns education to provincial jurisdictions. The account which follows makes a few references to programs in Quebec, but in the main deals with English-speaking Canada.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to many persons who have assisted in the course of this study. Financial assistance for both research and publication have been provided by the Robert England Bequest Fund, which is administered by the Centre for Continuing Education of The University of British Columbia. The author expresses his appreciation to the committee which supervises this fund. I also wish to extend thanks and recognition to Jindra Kulich, who has acted as editor and advisor for this project, and who has granted permission for the use of excerpts from previously published material.

If there are shortcomings, inadequacies, or even inaccuracies in this book, it is not clear to me who is responsible for them. Heredity or Environment? The author should probably own up to being responsible for the general interpretation of events which is expressed here. To some, it may appear to be a fairly mainline "liberal" approach. From the author's point of view it is recognized and accepted as such, but he is grateful to many colleagues, friends and students who in their various ways have attempted to straighten him out over the years. The book would be quite a different one if it were not for their influence. If in the opinion of some, I haven't quite "got it right yet", I will listen with care—and suggest they write their own book.

G.R.S.

1

Dimensions of Education for Citizenship

In her remarkable book about world citizenship, Elise Boulding begins with the concept of "civic culture", which she defines as follows:

> Civic culture represents the patterning of how we share a common space, common resources, and common opportunities and manage interdependence in that 'company of strangers' which constitutes The Public. (Boulding 1988:xvii)

That short phrase, "manage interdependence", covers a great deal of ground, including much of what this book is about.

We are concerned here with how we manage that interdependence in Canada and about the role of individuals, acting singly or in concert with others, as participants or citizens within that process. We are concerned with how this process has operated within our social and political system, one which the Canadian political scientist, C. B. Macpherson, has identified as "liberal democratic" (Macpherson 1965). In his famous Massey Lectures of 1965 (at last count in their sixteenth printing) Macpherson was at pains to point out that there were other important approaches to democracy at work in the world, but that all of them "have one thing in common: their ultimate goal is the same—to provide the conditions for the full and free development of the essential human capacities of all members of the society" (Macpherson 1965:36-37). The liberal democratic states, the Western democracies, were organized on the principle of the freedom of choice. This volume is concerned primarily with the various ways in which the adult education enterprise in Canada has played a part in the task of stimulating and assisting our citizens to make those choices.

In their study of government in Canada, Dawson and Dawson (1989) point out that one of the fundamental assumptions underlying democracy is that it is understood by its members, or citizens, "for only by having some grasp of its essentials can the body of citizens hope to make it work successfully" (Dawson & Dawson 1989:1).

R.S. Peters (1966) has pointed out that democracy, or the democratic way of life should be seen as a specific form of social control. This control is subject to the sovereignty or consent of the people, as expressed (in the parliamentary tradition) via "representative" procedures. Democratic societies may vary greatly in terms of their political institutions, but the essential general requirement is that there should be some kind of procedure for consulting citizens about public policy and action. "Authority is necessary; but it must be constituted in such a way that it does not unduly oppress the individual" (Peters 1966:298). Democracy, Peters states, works towards policies or solutions by adjustment and discussion, these processes to be guided by "the fundamental principles of morality", which he lists as fairness, liberty, the consideration of interests (private and public), and respect for persons (Peters 1966:298). Charles Frankel has summed up this morality as "a fund of good manners, good sense, and common decency which made it possible for men to understand one another and to negotiate their differences peacefully" (Frankel 1955:19).

Democracy thus defined, and in the context of democratic government as constituted in the Western democracies, clearly rests on the ideal of an active and informed citizenry. The kind of political morality referred to in the previous paragraph is a morality to be embraced by the whole of democratic society—government and the governed alike. The citizen is called upon to exercise judgment and to make choices, generally to play an active rather than a passive part in the political community. John Grierson, first head of the National Film Board of Canada, spoke of "civic appreciation, civic faith, and civic duty" and of democracy's need for "an understanding and imaginative citizenry" (Grierson 1945:5,8). The individual citizen is seen to have both rights and responsibilities in the democratic system.

Changing Concepts of Democracy and Citizenship

During the period under review in this study—approximately the present century—three general concepts of the democratic system have in turn dominated or gained prominence in our society. They will be identified here as follows: liberal individualism, the welfare state or mass democracy, and participatory democracy. These concepts are not mutually exclusive; they co-exist at the present time, for instance. Each has its advocates, and each has had its period of prominence. These three tendencies have emerged in the sequence indicated, but none has fully replaced its predecessor; it has rather added a dimension to it. Each point of view has had its implications for the role of the citizen.

Liberal Individualism

The period of liberal individualism was a product of classical Greek ideas about democracy and was harmonious with the ideas of the Reformation, the English,

American and French Revolutions, and the emergence of laissez-faire capitalism. The vision was of free and enlightened individuals acting in accordance with their perceived and enlightened self-interest. The historian T.B. Macaulay summed up this political philosophy in its earlier form:

> Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the nation by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties, by leaving capital to find its own most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment, by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the state. Let the government do this: the people will assuredly do the rest. (Cited in Carr 1951:21)

According to E.H. Carr, this interpretation of democracy was based on three propositions: that the individual conscience is the ultimate source of decisions about what is right and wrong; that there exists between individuals "a fundamental harmony of interests" strong enough to enable them to live peacefully together; and that rational discussion among individuals is the best method of reaching decisions on the appropriate course of public policy. Carr adds, "Modern democracy is in virtue of its origins, individualist, optimistic and rational" (Carr 1951:62).

Adherents to this perspective on society stress particularly the continuing importance of the role of the individual in decision-making. A representative spokesman, Joseph Wood Krutch, has stressed the importance of maintaining "that freedom is real, that choices are possible, and that man can think as well as rationalize" (Krutch 1953:200). As the effects of mass democracy, the welfare state and the "organization man" were increasingly recognized in the post Second World War period, liberal advocates of the individual's role as citizen rose to defend the capacity of the citizen to function in these altered circumstances. Thus we have Krutch insisting:

> If [the citizen] is to use his freedom actually to move the world, if he is not merely to be moved by it, then he must have some point outside the world of the physically and mentally determined on which to rest his lever. That fulcrum cannot be anything but "values" deliberately chosen. Thus, however limited human freedom may be, the freedom, if it exists at all, is unique, and, given a lever with which to operate, there is no guessing how powerful a force the free man may exert. (Krutch 1953:257)

The advocates of this individualistic or liberal point of view are generally optimistic about the capacity of society, and the institutions within it, to reform as necessary in order to adjust with the times and conditions within society. There is confidence in what Charles Frankel has termed "the tested capacity of these institutions to serve living human interests" (Frankel 1955:70). Indeed such institutions are a crucial component of the "social engineering" approach on which liberal interest relied.

> The vision behind liberalism is the vison of a world progressively redeemed by human power from its classic ailments of poverty, disease and ignorance. (Frankel 1955:29)

Frankel goes so far as to claim that liberalism "invented the idea that there are such things as 'social problems'" (p.33).

The Welfare State and Mass Democracy

It has been seen that liberal democratic values led to a "social engineering" approach to managing the modern state and responding to individual needs and rights. There was a continuing liberal concern that the institutional forms of the welfare state and the capitalist economy not lose sight of human needs and not drift beyond the control of the citizenry and infringe on their human and individual rights. Herbert Muller, the American historian, put the problem as follows:

> The free, open societies of the modern world have given the ordinary man extraordinary rights and opportunities, such as free public education, which common people never enjoyed in the past, and have encouraged him to believe that the future was going to be still better, nothing was impossible. At the same time, they have been generating massive pressures against the individual person, in an ever more mechanized, organized society.... (Muller 1964:3)

Those coming from other points of view in the social and political spectrum were less optimistic about the prospects for the welfare state, the kind of society of which Eduard Lindeman wrote: "Collectivism is the road to power, the predominant reality of modern life" (Cited by Brookfield in Jarvis 1987:134).

The welfare state has been seen to be a response to the shocks created by the two World Wars and the great Depression of the 1930s. Measures needed to be taken to regulate economic and political affairs so as to avoid such calamities in the future and to construct a safety net of services which would help to protect citizens in the future from the worst effects of such events. Further, there was a wish to create a better life for a larger proportion of people in society and to provide assistance to the disadvantaged persons who needed protection. As William Robson has pointed out in his study of the welfare state, "social reformers, religious leaders and politicians could no longer accept the assumption that gross poverty and destitution were 'natural' or unavoidable, or ordained by providence" (Robson 1976:20). Hence the "social service state" or the welfare state. Social and economic planning were generally accepted as a necessary part of the system. The state was increasingly looked upon as providing not so much "supervision", as had been the case under liberal individualism (the "night watchman" concept) as a more creative and remedial function. As E.H. Carr put it:

> The twentieth century has not only replaced individualist democracy by mass democracy, but has substituted the cult of the strong remedial state for the doctrine of the natural harmony of interests. (Carr 1951:67)

Along with the widely-accepted advantages which flowed from the welfare state came other factors which were a source of concern. The worries of liberal writers have already been referred to—the tendency for real power in the society to shift from the individual to large organizations—big government, big business,

big labor unions, etc. In the view of Geoffrey Barraclough, the British historian, in his oft-reprinted *Introduction to Contemporary History* (1964), the liberal political systems in which the individual was the basic unit, had given way to mass democracy, where the political party was the basic unit. He saw this as a necessary outcome of the "new industrial society". He described this "new philosophy of state intervention" as involving "regulation, state control, compulsion on individuals for social ends and ultimately planning, involving the development of an elaborate machinery of administration and enforcement" (Barraclough 1964:125). He and others spoke of the "illusion" of individual autonomy, and of "the shift from the individual in isolation to the individual in society" (p.258).

One of the chief concerns about mass democracy and the welfare state was the degree to which the individual citizen became remote from political policy making. The large political party was directed or managed by an inner group of professionals. And ultimate control, which nominally rested in parliament, had been transferred to the political party. Parties frequently decided on a course of action on the basis of public opinion polls, and exercised strict control of the behavior of individual members, who had been put in place by the electors. As Carr put it:

> With the mammoth trust and the mammoth trade union came the mammoth organ of opinion, the mammoth political party and, floating above them all, the mammoth state.... (Carr 1951:64)

A contemporary Canadian political figure, Dalton Camp, stated that by the late 1940s in Canada, party democracy was "essentially ritual", with the members "helplessly manipulated". The power brokers simply rolled over any attempt at real democracy in party decisions (Camp 1970:2,3).

There were a variety of responses to these emerging perceptions about the welfare state and mass democracy. There was a great deal of concern about the domination of individuals by organizations, with liberal democrats seeking ways for individuals to have a more effective role, and sociologists and psychologists pointing to the unsatisfactory situation of the other-directed "organization man". No small part of the attraction of existentialism, as popularly understood, was its vision of the individual's capacity to act on his or her own. Further, there were increasing numbers of persons who felt that government and the state had got beyond democratic control and that new tactics were required in order for citizens who wished to bring about social change to have any real impact. The ballot box, the political party and the traditional methods of lobbying and advocacy were increasingly perceived to be ineffectual.

Participatory Democracy

All was not well in the welfare state. The tendency to think increasingly in terms of the "management" of society rather than in terms of ideologies, as expressed in such works as Daniel Bell's *The End of Ideology* (1960), began to attract critics

from both liberal and socialist quarters, both sectors which had previously supported the welfare state. There was as well concern over the power of the managers, the power brokers, what W.A. Robson has termed "the hegemony of the executive" (Robson 1976:176). The 1960s brought a tumultuous and many-faceted response to what were increasingly seen as evils residing in the nature of mass organizations—the state, big business, big unions, etc. The books of authors such as David Riesman, William White, Albert Camus, and perhaps above all, C. Wright Mills, made clear the pressures created and the control exercised by mass organizations on the lives of individuals (Gitlin 1987). In the work of Mills, particularly, the interlocking "power elites" in the worlds of politics, the military, and big business were cast in a sinister light. In a speech he made in Canada in 1954, Mills declared that "irresponsibility has become organized in high places" (Mills 1954:12). As the human rights and other popular movements emerged in the sixties, the forces of the state were in various ways seen as obstacles, rather than means to human progress.

Liberals such as Charles Frankel were pointing out by the mid-fifties that access on the part of the individual to the centers of power was becoming increasingly difficult and that political authority increasingly seemed remote and abstract (Frankel 1955). Under such circumstances, there was a tendency for the citizen to feel apathy and a sense of mistrust towards constituted authority. In the meantime, the more radical elements in society were identifying the liberal point of view with the power elites which were in control, and which now had to be combatted. In the words of Tom Hayden, one of the most prominent student activists in the United States at this time:

> We were rejecting the limited concept of democracy that had come to prevail, one in which expertise, specialization and bureaucracy had come to count for more than popular will. (Hayden 1988:98)

Out of this kind of thinking, and inspired by the existentialist writers, came a resurgence of a kind of individualism. Values must be translated into direct action. A Students for a Democratic Society pamphlet of the day spoke in terms of "the possibility of a civic life that maximizes personal influence over public affairs", and Camus was widely quoted where he pointed out that human greatness lies "in a man's decision to be stronger than his condition" (Cited in Hayden 1988:81,95).

While there was a strongly individualistic thrust to this reaction to the welfare state and to other elites who were judged to be oppressive, this individualism emerged in alliance with the New Left. One of the most interesting writers of the sixties, Todd Gitlin, has pointed out that both McCarthyism and the Old Left together had discredited the idea of a general, multi-issue Left. He states, further:

> The result was that the New Left made its appearance in the guise of single-issue movements: civil rights, civil liberties, campus reform, peace. (Gitlin 1987:83)

Hayden stated at the time, "The time has come for a re-assertion of the personal"

and a student manifesto of the day spoke of "bringing people out of isolation and into community" (Hayden 1988:83,97).

Participation or participatory democracy emerged in these years as the style of a great deal of political action. It placed great emphasis on "direct action", as distinct from the traditional ideas of acting through the ballot box and one's political representative. The organizations formed to advance and co-ordinate such action are in many instances "single issue" organizations—human rights groups, the women's movement, peace and disarmament groups, environmental organizations, and those promoting the interests of a variety of disadvantaged groups in society—and are generally referred to as the New Social Movements.

One of the leading students of the New Social Movement (NSM), C. Offe, (1985) points out that the "space of action" of the NSMs is a space of "non-institutional politics, which was not provided for in the doctrines of liberal democracy and the welfare state". Offe adds:

> All major concerns of the NSMs converge on the idea that life itself—and the minimal standards of the "good life" as defined and sanctioned by modern values—is threatened by the blind dynamics of military, economic, technological, and political rationalization; and that there are no sufficient and sufficiently reliable barriers within dominant political and economic institutions that could prevent them from passing the threshold to disaster. (Offe 1985:853)

The welfare state and the power elites did not retain the confidence of a significant proportion of the population. Critics spoke of "parliamentarianism of the top-down variety and statism" (Resnick 1984:i) and "the defense of society against the state" (Cohen 1985:664). Tom Hayden declared, "We were defending democracy against its enemies at home" (Hayden 1988:175).

This new type of political action called for a "direct" participation in political events rather than the traditional notions of representative democracy. Hayden speaks of "a moral meaning in life that is direct and authentic for the self" (Hayden 1988:82). In the NSMs, individual action tends to be of two kinds—participation in large scale mobilizations (strikes, rallies, demonstrations, etc.), and the setting of personal, individual examples of the desired change of behavior (conservation, recycling activities, etc.). Further, the organizations which provide leadership tend to be different from the traditional voluntary advocacy groups. The NSMs tend to be less hierarchical, are more informal concerning membership (often not differentiating clearly between members and the community at large), and stressing spontaneity. P. Watson and B. Barber manage to sum up much of the foregoing when they quoted a girl who was taking part in an anti-nuclear demonstration. When asked why she was participating, she said, "I'm here because I care, and because I think if enough people make enough of a statement then the politicians will begin to listen to people" (Watson & Barber 1988:269).

The period which has seen the development of participatory democracy in Canada has included another profound shift in attitudes on the part of many of our

citizens. It has been referred to by Canadian philosopher, Charles Taylor, as "atomist" (Taylor in Cairns & Williams 1985) and has been attributed by political scientists A. Cairns and C. Williams, in their study carried out for the Macdonald Commission on Canada's economic prospects, to Canadians becoming "increasingly rights conscious" and less so of "norms of duty, obligation and responsibility" (Cairns & Williams 1985:3). The authors of this study maintain that in the last half century, the evolution of "rights consciousness" on the part of Canadians has been profound. They add, "The breaking of the bonds of custom is accompanied by beliefs that identities can be chosen, social arrangements reconstructed, and society transformed by human action" (p.8-9). The role of Pierre Trudeau between 1968 and 1984 in accomplishing the entrenchment of civil rights in the repatriated constitution of Canada was of course crucial in this development. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 is described as "a springboard for advancing various claims on government" and has led to "a mushrooming pluralism of specific demands" (Cairns & Williams 1985:39,42). These authors, like Charles Taylor (in Cairns & Williams 1985) make reference to "centrifugal tendencies in state and society" which have been evident in recent decades, and have encouraged the development of biculturalism, multiculturalism, single issue social movements and other special, local and regional interests. This has taken place "at the expense of more holistic conceptions of community and citizenship" (Cairns & Williams 1985:42). They point out that the practice of citizenship in this contemporary society—this "imbalance between rights and duties"—is far from easy. They call for "a broader and more subtle concept of citizenship" (p.4), but do not minimize the difficulties in a world which they characterized as follows:

> In Canada and other liberal democratic polities, the underlying social reality to which the state responds is increasingly fragmented, pluralist and centrifugal. Our identities have simultaneously multiplied and become politicized. (Cairns & Williams 1985:15)

Ideological Background

Behind the progression of beliefs and practices just described lies the development over the last few decades especially of divergent intellectual approaches. The two points of view may be described as liberal and radical, or structural functionalism and the conflict paradigm (Rubenson in Merriam & Cunningham 1989). The former of these two pairs is sometimes referred to as a consensus paradigm. Adherents of this point of view tend to see the development or evolution of society as gradual and tend to approach social change from the point of view of the individual's role. The emphasis is on common beliefs and values. Conflict theorists "emphasize competing interests, elements of domination, exploitation, and coercion" (Rubenson in Merriam & Cunningham 1989:54) and tend to see the evolution of society in terms of competing class interests rather than in terms of

the role of the individual and the evolution of institutions.

These divergent points of view do not relate in any one-to-one way with the stages in thinking about democracy which have been described above, but there are clearly important connections. The liberal and consensus beliefs were dominant in the liberal democratic and welfare state approaches, though the latter came about as a result of the convergence of various views. Conflict theories may be seen to lie behind the point of view and practices of many of the New Social Movements, but those movements are not for the most part built on class lines. To many participants in these movements, the motivating ideas are not class conflict, but represent a different approach to how the individual can make his or her participation count most effectively for the desired social changes. For many, it represented a "re-assertion of the personal" (Hayden 1988:83), an attempt to reflect values in direct action.

Education and Democratic Citizenship

The focus of this study is adult education as it relates to citizenship. The traditional idea in the Western democracies has been that it was desirable for the effective functioning of the democratic system that the individual be disposed to play an active part in the working of the system—as voter, activist, political party member, etc.—and that in order to perform these tasks, the individual must be assisted by education. The individual, ideally, must be persuaded that he or she had a responsibility to be an active participant in the democratic system, and be equipped by means of general or liberal education to be able to play an autonomous, discriminating role in relation to the choices to be made. With respect to particular issues about which the body politic had to come to a decision, there should be access by the individual to relevant information. This point of view has been part of all three stages of thinking about democracy, as described above, but each stage encouraged different shades of meaning.

Functions of Education for Citizenship

Education in relation to citizenship falls into three categories: that having to do with the intellectual powers of the individual and the inclination to take part in the political process; education about how the political system works and how it can be influenced; and education about particular issues. The first of these has traditionally been the focus of liberal education. Flowing from its classical Greek origins, liberal education was thought of as equipping the individual with powers of analysis and of expression which would enable him or her to be a "free" citizen—able to judge the efficacy of various points of view and act on the basis of what seemed to be the wisest course of action. The ideal citizen was seen to be someone who was not at the mercy of every passing argument or piece of propaganda, but someone who had a set of values, was able to think for himself

or herself, and one who could make reasoned judgments. Further, it was assumed that not only would the individual citizen be equipped in this way to think clearly and independently about the issues, but also would be motivated to play an active role as a citizen in the affairs of the community or state. To do so was seen as a responsibility of the individual, whether or not that person was actively seeking social change along certain lines.

Certain interest groups in society have been founded on the idea of bringing about social and political change. No small part of their educational and related activities have been devoted to persuading adherents to play an active part in the political process. This seems to be particularly true of parties in opposition, and especially those left of center. Here education about particular issues, especially where this can result in heightening the conviction of the need for change in society, converges with the more general attempts to encourage people to play an active part as a citizen in the democratic process.

A second main thrust of citizenship education has to do with imparting to the citizen—or future citizen—a knowledge of how the political system works. This is often referred to as civics education and particular emphasis is placed on this in the education of the young and of recent immigrants. To some degree this has to do with the formal structure of government, the division of powers and the means open to the citizen to have an influence on decision-making. With the increasing level of age and maturity of the learner, stress is placed on a more sophisticated and realistic version of how power is exercised in the political system. In this area, the various forces which play a part in the education of the citizen—educational institutions, government, political parties, special interest groups, etc.—will bring their own points of view to bear on the issues.

The third main area of citizenship education which has been identified has to do with particular issues about which the citizens are called upon to make decisions. This is often the focus of what is termed education about public affairs. The citizen does not approach each new issue with a clean slate, however. Many commitments, biases, ideologies—predispositions of various kinds—will have an influence on both the provider and participant in such education. In their examination of education about a particular area of citizenship education—international affairs—C.O. Houle and C.A. Nelson (1956) identified four different groups of citizens, each requiring a different educational approach. The "specialist" already has considerable knowledge of the issues involved. The "actively concerned" citizen is already knowledgeable to some extent and like the specialist, is motivated to learn more. The "attentive" citizen is ready to respond to issues which are important to the community and to seek understanding about any particular issue or area of concern when convinced it is important to do so. The "inattentive" citizen has little or no interest in political affairs (for any of several reasons) and somehow must be persuaded to take an interest before he or she will be ready to learn about particular issues. The foregoing analysis clearly places

emphasis on the role of the individual in making decisions about such matters. The situation is seen quite differently by those who have a more conflictual, class-oriented view of society.

Education, including the public educational system, is not always conceived of as value neutral in its role of facilitating active citizenship. J.E. Thomas and G. Harries-Jenkins (1975) have pointed out that the relationship between education and social change can be seen to be described by four categories: conservation, maintenance, reform and revolution. Paulo Freire and others towards the more radical end of the spectrum have insisted in recent years that education cannot be neutral from this point of view, that it must either be a force for social change or play the role of re-inforcing the status quo (Freire 1970, 1985).

Education and Liberal Democracy

In the period dominated by the concept of liberal democracy, adult education was judged to have both an individual and social role. J.F.C. Harrison (1961) and H. Silver (1975) have traced these two themes within adult education back to the origins of the modern movement, in the latter decades of the 18th century. The famous *1919 Report* on adult education in the United Kingdom spoke eloquently of both of these traditions, but stated that most adult educators in that country believed:

> that the object of adult education is not merely to heighten the intellectual powers of individual students, but to lay the foundations of more intelligent citizenship and of a better social order. (1919 Report 1980:57)

There is a long traditon of authors who have expressed the importance of the connection between liberal education and citizenship. One of the best known of these is Sir Richard Livingstone. He stated at the conclusion of the Second World War:

> We have to transform a world with uncertain standards and vague values, with many virtues but no clear philosophy of life, into one which knows how to refuse evil and choose good, clear in its aims and therefore in its judgments and action. (Livingstone 1945:26)

An American spokesman for the same tradition wrote of his interest in the great tradition of liberal ideas "not as a means of personal salvation but as instruments of social action" (Frankel 1955:3).

H.W. Stubblefield's (1988) recent work on the history of adult education in the United States has stressed three principal approaches within the liberal tradition which key theorists in the movement developed, largely in the first half of the present century: adult education as the diffusion of knowledge, as liberal education, and as social education. He points out that within the third category, writers "put education on the firing line of social change", and saw education's task to be "to create the social mind" and "to promote the thinking power of a democracy" (Stubblefield 1988:130, 100, 104).

E.A. Corbett, the architect of some of the great citizenship education projects in Canada, including Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum, may be quoted as spokesman for this tradition in Canada. He was the key figure in transforming the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) from the clearing house organization it was intended by its founders to be, into an active programming agency in the field of citizenship education. Corbett's aim for the CAAE has been described as "to involve the whole adult education movement in the gigantic task of educating for democratic citizenship" (Armstrong 1968:130). He told the annual meeting of his organization in 1941: "That's our job, to show people what a living, shining thing democracy can be" (Cited in Selman 1981:7).

Education and the Welfare State

The welfare state, or mass democracy, as it has been termed, being largely the product of liberal traditions, the role of education in connection with citizenship in that setting was seen to be much the same as in the previous period. Great emphasis was placed on the necessity of being able to think effectively as a defence against the pressures being increasingly placed on the individual by the mass organizations of various kinds. Liberals recognized the dangers of the conditioning of the individual by the state and by the world of commerce and employment, and emphasized all the more the need for trained, well stocked minds and resistance to various forms of social and psychological pressure on the person.

There was also great emphasis on the need for acquiring the skills of playing the political game in a world of big government and big organizations. The forms of sociological and civics education which were calculated to arm the active citizen for entering and succeeding in the political fray received particlar attention. If the political party was now acting as a disciplined, collective whole, as many writers were stressing (See for instance Carr 1951; Barraclough 1964), then the crucial matter became how to influence the leadership of those groups.

Education and Participatory Democracy

The era of participatory democracy brought additional dimensions to the relationship between education and citizenship. The New Social Movements (NSM), it has been pointed out, put less stress on maintaining and relating to membership of the organization than had traditional voluntary organizations. There was therefore less reason to think in terms of the long term education of a core membership. There was also less tendency in any one NSM to be concerned with a wide range of issues. The NSMs were more focussed on a single issue, or a few related ones—the environment, women's rights, etc.—and therefore what educational activities were carried out by any one organization tended also to be focused in their areas of concern.

The NSM's approach to education was influenced too by its methodology or strategy. A basic idea of participatory democracy was that of personal presence in demonstrations, protests or media events of various kinds. Willingness to participate in such events was not always based on depth of understanding of the issues, but sometimes as much on a general "ideological" commitment which caused the person to be willing to take part in overt action in support of the cause. This is not to say that education about the issues was any less present in this sort of participatory democracy, especially among the core leadership group, but the style of operations of the NSMs was such that moving people to "participate" was the more immediate goal.

In their study of contemporary political trends referred to earlier, Cairns and Williams (1985) identified the more complex and difficult role the citizen has to play in what they describe as a period which "heightens group identitites and politicizes cleavages" (p.12). They return repeatedly to the idea of "centrifugal tendencies" which they see to be at work in Canadian society, "at the expense of more holistic conceptions of community and citizenship" (p.14). It is apparent that to the extent such an analysis is sound, approaches to education for citizenship are likely to take place within specific areas of interest and commitment, and that it will be an increasingly difficult task to engage people's interest in a more broadly-based or generalized approach to education for citizenship.

In their book on party politics in Canada, M. Goldfarb and T. Axworthy (1988) describe the evolution of democracy as having moved from "small scale participatory democracy", to "representative democracy", to "information democracy". In this third stage, which corresponds closely to what is here being termed participatory democracy, they maintain that "information—issue specific, time specific—is now the life blood of the political process and the policy-making process of our society" (Goldfarb & Axworthy 1988:xxi).

Education and the Community Setting

An important strand of adult education practice in Canada which falls within the field of citizenship education has approached the learner not as an individual but as part of his or her community. There is a strong tradition in Canada of community education and community development. It is not the author's view that the latter is entirely contained within the field of adult education, but that adult education has a major contribution to make to the process. The essential point to be stressed is that in the context of community development (and some forms of community education and education for functioning in organizational life) the educational process does not focus on the individual as an autonomous being, but on the individual "in community". The context in which the individual is located, the relationships with others who sh[illegible] that situation and the process of change in the nature of their community or group life become an integral part of and influence on the learning process, as well as objects of study.

In concluding this discussion of citizenship education, the author feels that it is important to stress once again the ideological basis of perspectives on the matter. Thinking about these issues in the field of adult education in recent years has put emphasis on a basic dichotomy—between the philosophically liberal point of view on the one hand, and the radical, social transformation view on the other. The former tends to see much of the educational provision by the state as politically neutral in intent and believes that the kinds of choices which the citizen is called upon to make—and the educational dimensions related to them—are matters of individual choice. The radical transformationist view is based on ideas of class and class differences in society, with related notions of dominance and oppression, and believes that the role of adult education is to address itself to the injustices inherent in present day society and to play its part in consciousness raising and bringing about change. Both points of view are alive and well in Canada today, and are amply demonstrated in the history of adult education in this country.

The field of adult education in Canada has produced many creative responses to the challenge of education for citizenship. Many of the most striking and highly regarded accomplishments of Canadian adult educators are in this area. It is hardly surprising, given the nature of our experience as a people, that much attention has been focussed on citizenship concerns. What is noteworthy are the calibre and high international reputation of much of this work.

2

Citizenship Education as the Great Tradition of Canadian Adult Education

The main subject of this book is the way in which adult education in Canada has applied itself to citizenship education, in the broadest sense of the term. Much of what is best known and most highly regarded about adult education in this country falls within this area. It is not exaggerating to describe citizenship education, in this broad sense, as the "great tradition" of Canadian adult education. Various aspects of this activity will be examined in the subsequent four chapters: the leadership role played by the Canadian Association for Adult Education in this field; education for immigrants and ethnic groups; education about public affairs; and education for social transformation.

The present chapter will be devoted to a consideration of some features of Canadian society which constitute the context within which adult education in this country has functioned and to which it has sought to relate its efforts.

One should not be surprised to find that adult education about citizenship matters has been a central tradition of the field in Canada. There are strong reasons why this should be so. Adult education is in large measure a reactive enterprise, in the sense that its dominant mode is to respond to the characteristics and needs of the society within which it operates, and to the needs of the individuals within that society (Lowe 1975; Roberts 1982). In the case of Canada, both social and individual needs involved a strong element of citizenship concerns.

Canada is a nation of immigrants. Except perhaps for the Native peoples, all Canadians or their forebears have come as immigrants to this land and have had in various ways and degrees to come to terms with or adapt to a new life in a new society and setting. In many cases this adaptation has involved a strong vocational element, of course, but as well there have been social, cultural and political dimensions. While Canada has evolved a policy of social "mosaic" and multiculturalism, which have not aimed at a total assimilation of immigrants into the dominant cultures, nevertheless a certain level of accommodation—based on

learning—has been required of all who seek citizenship.

This process has been a complicated one in Canada because the dominant society has been far from clear about its own identity. In the first place, there has been not one dominant identity, but two—those of the French-speaking and English-speaking parts of the country. But it has been even more complicated than that, in that at least in English-speaking Canada, the society has not been in agreement as to the identity it was seeking to establish. At the outset, populated largely by immigrants from Britain, English Canada had somehow to come to terms with "the French fact" within Canadian confederation. To the British influences were added—with increasing vigor with each passing year—the cultural, social and economic influences from our large southern neighbor, the United States of America. No sooner did Canadians finally, by the late 1960s, come to terms with the idea of official bilingualism and some degree of biculturalism, than the continuing flow of immigrants from other than British or French backgrounds rendered any thought of a policy of biculturalism completely inadequate. We have since seen an official multicultural policy enacted. As a result of this constantly changing series of factors, many Canadians have been far from clear as to their cultural, social and psychological identity as Canadians. So, to the usual challenges facing those who have sought to be effective citizens of a liberal democratic state, Canadians have struggled as well with the task of figuring out what kind of society they wished to have—or could have—in this northern half of the North American continent.

The Canadian Community

The major Canadian historians, whose work has been described by Carl Berger (1976), have developed several main interpretations of our experience as a people. Each has rich meaning for Canadians' sense of the essential elements of our national experience, and each may be seen to stress factors which have given rise to important aspects of adult education for citizenship in Canada.

The first of these schools of historical interpretation puts emphasis on the process by which Canada emerged from colonial status within the British Empire and gradually gained its national independence. The emphasis here is on gradualism, Canada's non-revolutionary (some would say, conservative) past, an inherited tradition of parliamentary democracy, and liberal ideas of consensual and incremental change.

The second major interpretation of our history has been termed the "Laurentian theory". The country has been developed from its original cradle in the St. Lawrence river basin. This was the route by which the original imperial powers explored, settled, and conducted exploitation of the economic resources of the area. It was also the route by which the economic centers of the new nation dominated the development in the West and the North of the country. Harold Innis

is the major figure in this school of thought and he stressed the central role of communications in Canadian development. This point of view emphasizes the crucial role played by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board of Canada and other federal agencies in Canadian development and brings to mind such notable adult education projects as National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum, the Joint Planning Commission, and the educational work of the National Film Board.

A third major theme in Canadian historiography, though not developed as fully here as in the United States, is the "frontier theory". Arthur Lower and Donald Creighton developed elements of this in their work, placing emphasis on the significance of the "wilderness" and Canada's "northern window" as ever-present factors in our development. Such an interpretation brings to mind the work of Frontier College, one of Canada's best known adult education projects, as well as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) railway camps, some of the Film Board activities which reached out to isolated communities, and the Women's Institutes.

A fourth interpretation of the Canadian story gives central place to "continentalism". The stress here is on Canada as a North American country which has had to work out its destiny in the shadow of a larger, "aggressive" and vibrant society in the United States. Lower, Creighton and Underhill are representative figures, Creighton's biography of John A. Macdonald being a particularly interesting example. This interpretation brings to mind several adult education institutional forms which Canada borrowed from the American experience (agricultural extension, community colleges, etc.) but as well, several major adult education programs in Canada which were designed to strengthen the sense of Canadian identity and citizenship, as a means of offsetting "creeping Americanism" or "continentalism" and of bolstering Canadians' sense of separate identity. Again, the work of Farm Forum, Citizens' Forum, the Joint Planning Commission and the Film Board film circuit project may be mentioned, along with the educational activities associated with multiculturalism.

The fifth and final historical interpretation which should be mentioned is that of Canada's development as a response to the various challenges facing us as a people in our task of nation building. J.W. Careless is a prominent proponent of this interpretation. It perhaps includes some aspects of the continentalist point of view, pressure of various kinds from the United States being among the challenges to be faced. The formidable nature of Canada's climate and geography, with the resulting strong tendencies towards regionalism, have also been among the challenges to be faced. The Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia, which sought to combat the depressed economic conditions in that part of the country beginning in the late twenties, is an example of an adult education project which was a response to the challenge of regional disparity. Others might include the co-operative movement of the Prairies, the Women's Institutes, the work of the

Chautauqua travelling tent shows beginning in the First World War period, and the Banff School of Fine Arts, which was founded in the Depression years.

One could perhaps press too far the connection between the major interpretations of Canadian history and the development of some aspects of adult education in this country, especially education for citizenship. But the point which is being made is that because adult education is in the main a response to the needs of individuals and to the nature of the society within which it operates, it is not surprising that in a country which has been pre-occupied with nation building and with seeking its own identity, that major elements of adult education should have developed in relation to these same social priorities.

An Immigrant Nation

One of the chief factors which has required a continuing educational response in the field of citizenship has been the fact that almost all Canadians, or their forebears, have come as immigrants to this country. With the exception of a few periods of economic downturn, Canada has continuously throughout its history admitted relatively large numbers of immigrants. Immigration policy has been more selective since 1945, there being a general tendency since that time to seek immigrants in the light of economic and manpower needs. For many years there were restrictions on immigration based on race and country of origin, but these restrictions were largely removed (in favor of others) in the 1960s (Hawkins 1972).

Approximately 11 million immigrants have entered Canada since Confederation in 1867. In the 80 years 1900-1979, Canada's population quadrupled; 23 million babies were born, deaths totalled almost 9 million, immigrant arrivals amounted to 9.2 million and emigration was estimated to have totalled approximately 5 million. Between 1895 and 1913, over 2.5 million immigrants were admitted, and one million arrived in the decade following the Second World War. (In some other periods, there was actually net emigration.) In the last few years, the influx has been reduced, but it has been pointed out that with the steady decline in the rate of natural increase in the Canadian population, the relatively small rate of immigration "could constitute an increasingly important component of Canada's future population growth" (Jackson, Jackson & B-Moore 1986:44).

It was the assumption in Canada for many decades after Confederation that immigrants would need to adapt themselves to fit in with one of the two dominant ethnic groups which make up the population—the British and French-Canadian cultures. But in the past 25 years, there has been increasing recognition of the importance of the cultural backgrounds of other groups of immigrants. In 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau made a formal statement in the House of Commons which announced the endorsement by the federal government of a policy of multiculturalism, within a bilingual framework. Various programs were subsequently put in place in support of this policy. The policy itself was further strengthened by the passage in 1988 of federal legislation, the Multiculturalism Act.

A Liberal Democratic Society

The Canadian political system is generally described as being "liberal democratic" (Macpherson 1965; Van Loon & Whittington 1987). It is a system of government in which individuals are the ultimate source of political authority and the system of government is organized on the principle of freedom of choice. The basic political values held by Canadians have been described as including "a commitment to popular sovereignty, political equality and majoritarianism" (Van Loon & Whittington 1987: 110-11). In their book about the Canadian government, R.J. Jackson, D. Jackson and N. Baxter-Moore (1986) define our democratic system of government as resting on certain values and attitudes. Concerning the latter, they state that there are three important categories of attitudes:

> *Cognitive* attitudes reflect the degree of knowledge, accurate or otherwise, which citizens have about political objects. *Affective* attitudes reflect the degree of citizens' attachment to or rejection of the political objects which surround them: how do Canadians feel about their country, their government or political symbols...? *Evaluative* attitudes reflect the moral judgments made by individuals about the goodness or badness of political objects. The three types of attitudes are interrelated, and often difficult to distinguish in practice. (Jackson, Jackson, B-Moore 1986:91)

The concern in this volume is the relationship of education, and more particularly, adult education, to the citizen's readiness and capacity to play an active part—in various ways—in the democratic process. It has been pointed out earlier that there are three main ways in which education, in the broad sense of the term, can play a part in preparing the citizen for democratic citizenship. The first has to do with enabling the individual to acquire the basic disposition towards and competencies which are required to function as a citizen of a democracy. This includes a knowledge of language, a capacity to express oneself, a sense of the history and culture within which one is operating, and powers of judgment and analysis which enable the person to consider points of view and make judgments as to their validity and merits. This aspect of education is often referred to as general or liberal education. The second area is that of informing citizens about how the political system works within which they are functioning. How are decisions made, and how can the individual (or groups) have impact on the process? This area is frequently termed civics education. The third main area of educational activity has to do with the topics or matters of concern about which decisions have to be made by the system. This third area is often referred to as education about public affairs.

Education is not the only, and perhaps not the most important determinant of citizen behavior or political socialization. A recent work has pointed out that various forces shape individual and community values and attitudes in this regard. They are divided into primary factors, the influence of family, friends, peer group and work associates, and secondary factors, educational institutions (formal education), communications media and government itself (Jackson, Jackson & B-

Moore 1986). This volume is concerned in the main with aspects of education for citizenship which is purposefully directed to citizenship matters, but which lies in the main outside the formal curricula of educational institutions.

Canadian Identity

English-speaking Canada has been pre-occupied for the last several decades with the matter of "Canadian identity". In that period of time, Canada has gained its full independence as a nation, but there has been a lack of clarity and agreement concerning the characteristics which Canadians have wished to value most highly. There has been ready assent to the wish to be free from colonial ties to Great Britain and there has been widely held agreement that Canadians wish to achieve an identity which was distinctly different from that of the United States. But it has been easier for Canadians to agree on what they are against, or what they don't wish to become than it has been to agree on what they do wish to become. Marshall McLuhan has stated that "Canada has no goals or directions" and Mordecai Richler commented along similar lines when he stated at one point that, Canada was "116 years old but still blurry"; literary critic, Robert Kroetsch, has put it that in our literature, Canadian identity "announces itself as an absence" (Cited in Staines 1986: 3, 116).

Over the years, there have been attempts by historians, philosophers, social scientists and literary critics to identify what they saw to be the unique elements of the Canadian experience, and to define the Canadian identity. Some of the characteristics which have been identified will be briefly described here. This is done for two reasons. The first is that if this volume is attempting to describe educational programs which have addressed significant citizenship concerns in this country, it is important that an effort be made to describe the context within which these developments have taken place. Secondly, a number of the programs described in this volume may be seen as a reaction to, or a manifestation of certain of these characteristics and it will be helpful background to have this broader context described at the outset.

A Bilingual Society

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Canadian society, beginning in colonial times and up to the present day, has been the challenge of managing the relationship between the two "founding nations", the French Canadians and those of British descent. Up until the Quebec "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s, this largely took the form of a political balancing act, seeing that there was a satisfactory balance of representation in the federal cabinet and in other positions of influence. Beginning in the sixties, ideas which we would now recognize as supporting the "distinct society" concept increasingly came to the fore and the government of L.B. Pearson began the process of affording special status and treatment to the Province of Quebec (Bothwell, Drummond & English 1981; Granatstein et al 1983). The landmark Royal Commission on Bilingualism and

Biculturalism, which was established in 1963, set forth a line of future policy and development which was in the main adopted by the federal government and further sensitized many Canadians to the need to continually re-examine and adjust the relationship between the English and French speaking communities in Canada. This whole question became even more complex as a result of what Bernard Ostry has called the "reluctant discovery" during the Royal Commission's proceedings of "the fact of multiculturalism in Canada" (Ostry 1978:107). The "Quebec Crisis" of 1970, the election to government in 1976 in Quebec of an avowedly separatist party, the subsequent defeat of a referendum on separation, the repatriation of the Canadian constitution in 1982 on a formula which had not found favor in Quebec, and the subsequent efforts to arrive at a constitutional agreement—these and other events were manifestations of tensions within Confederation and a lack of success on the part of Canadians in reaching a satisfactory accommodation between the two founding nations—or what is increasingly seen as between Quebec and the federal government. Kaspar Naegele has described this as "the association of a general ethnic diversity with a prominent cultural dichotomy", and what he described as "a gnawing and puzzling task", has if anything become more so since he wrote in 1961 (Naegele in Blishen et al 1961:31)

A Multicultural Society

One of the characteristics of Canadian society which is most frequently cited and which has attracted increasing attention in recent years is the policy of cultural diversity. Canada has become a multicultural society. The component of the population from the British Isles, which made up 61 per cent of the population in 1871, had fallen to about 40 per cent in 1981. The French element fell from 31 per cent to 27 per cent over the same period. The rest of the population in 1981 could be categorized into over 70 small but clearly defined ethnic groups, the most significant of which, seen in a national perspective, were Germans (5%), Italians (3%) and Ukranians (2%). Native people constituted the next largest group (Jackson, Jackson & B-Moore 1986).

As has already been pointed out, the continuing strength of feelings of cultural identity on the part of those of non-British and non-French backgrounds was a "discovery" of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the mid-1960s. In some respects, the need to accommodate the differences between the two "founding" groups predisposed Canadians to an acceptance of other cultural differences as well. Canadians have on the whole taken pride in a policy which allows a cultural "mosaic" in this country, by contrast to what is seen to be a cultural "melting pot" in the United States. Peter Newman has asserted that the policy of social mosaic or multiculturalism "remains our single most important national characteristic" (Newman 1988:14). The Canadian policy "takes as its starting point the assumption that the many groups that make up a multi-ethnic or pluralist society have unique cultural characteristics that often can enhance and

strengthen the national political community" (Van Loon & Whittington 1987:86). The policy of multiculturalism was formally proclaimed in 1971, was entrenched in the repatriated constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, and as has already been mentioned, was the subject of legislation in 1988.

The dominant ethnic cleavage in Canada, between French and English Canadians, was a product of our history, reinforced by the large populations involved. With respect to other, smaller ethnic minorities, there are various cleavages between non-white immigrant groups and the white European majority, and between Canada's aboriginal peoples and other Canadians. R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington (1987) attribute the depth of the cleavages in these cases to the concentration of the minorities, in some cases in urban areas or ghettoes, and in the case of many Native people, in the northern parts of the provinces and in the two territories. Economic and social deprivation factors have tended to deepen a sense of alienation and injustice among the non-white groups and deepen the conflict between the ethnic minorities and the rest of the population.

It has been pointed out by Canadian social scientists that "in opting for cultural diversity rather than homogeneity, the price Canadians must pay is the almost constant phenomenon of ethnic conflict" (Van Loon & Whittington 1987:87). There is a continuing and urgent need for Canadians to understand the nature and implications of the multicultural policy, to be willing to exercise tolerance, and to make adjustments as necessary in order to make the policy work. Leslie Armour has put the challenge as follows:

> We must eventually decide what we want. Whatever it is, it will require some skill. In a pluralistic society, in a society which recognizes both communities and individuals, there is never an end to the tensions.... Pluralism we have and shall have—or we shall have nothing. (Armour 1981:142,127)

Regionalism in Canada

From the very beginning of its history, originating perhaps in the historical colonial structure, Canada has been a country of regions (Careless 1969). Jackson, Jackson and Baxter-Moore (1986), in their major work on Canadian politics, identify regionalism as one of three major strands which go to make up Canadian political culture (along with national attitudes and ethnic sub-cultures), and they also identify it as one of the main factors which have hindered a sense of national cohesion. They state:

> The federal system of government helps to re-inforce and perpetuate these regions and the attitudes related to them. It is inevitable that, given these conditions, individuals within the different regions will maintain different attitudes toward national problems.... The fact that political values and beliefs are far from uniform across the nation-state leads some scholars to argue that there is no such thing as a Canadian political culture, but rather many cultures based on ethnic or regional divisions. (p.83)

They emphasize the view that the federal form of government gave a "structural guarantee" that some form of regionalism would flourish in Canada (p.114).

Indeed this form of government was chosen partly because it would allow regional diversity.

There are usually seen to be six major regions in Canada today: the Atlantic provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, British Columbia, and the Northern Territiories. These regional identities are founded upon several sets of factors, including physical and geographical, demographic, economic factors, and the nature and extent of services available, such as transportation, health and welfare, and communications. Regionalism may be seen not only as the term for the intrusion of territorial-provincial interests in national politics, but also as a factor which helps to create a different sense of self-interest and psychological set from one part of the country to another (Gibbins 1982).

Some commentators on the nature of the Canadian community have added to this picture of regional diversity by stressing even more local identities. In his remarkable essay on Canadian society published in 1961, Naegele refers to "the smaller circles of loyalty and identity" on the part of many Canadians and sees this as the key to understanding "the inner landscape" of our people. (In Blishen et al 1961:42). Some of the best known writing on this question in Canada has come from our literary critic and historian, Northrop Frye. He states that the whole question of Canadian identity "is not a 'Canadian' question at all, but a regional question" (Frye 1971:i-ii). In examining the case of the Canadian "imagination", he sees "small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological 'frontier'". This creates a "garrison mentality" (Frye 1971:225). Frye has pointed out as well that whereas economic issues tend to centralization and hierarchy, cultural issues are "inherently decentralizing ones" (Frye 1982:43). "Culture has something vegetable about it, something that increasingly needs to grow from roots, something that demands a smaller region and a restricted locale" (p.62). Far from seeing regionalism or sectionalism as a problem in Canadian life, Frye sees it as a healthy, a "creative side of the relaxing of centralizing tensions in modern society" (p. 83). As Armour (1981) points out, Frye feels that cultural fragmentation may be an intelligent response to forces of unification imposed by technology. The same point has been made frequently by George Woodcock, another outstanding Canadian literary critic (Woodcock 1989). Peter Newman quotes John Grierson, first Director of the National Film Board, who made this point by saying, "There are no cultural capitals" in Canada (Newman 1988:17).

A further point which should be made for present purposes about regionalism in Canada is that the parts of the country have had very different economic conditions (Gibbins 1982). The economies of the more distant regions have been controlled largely from the financial centers in Ontario and Quebec. The economic and social pattern in the Prairie region may provide very fertile ground for the organization of the co-operative movement. In the 1920s, a time of prosperity for Central Canada, the Atlantic region had already entered a severe economic recession, conditions to which the Antigonish Movement was in large

measure a response. The poverty and relative isolation of communities in Alberta during the thirties helped to create a hunger for group cultural pursuits of the kind to be addressed by the fledgeling Banff School of the Arts.

The Problem of Distance

Closely related to the factor of regionalism in Canadian development has been that of the overall size, and the distances to be covered. Coming to terms with geography has been a painful process for Canadians. Someone has said that whereas some countries have too much history, Canadians have too much geography. In his volume on film and Canadian culture, R.B. Elder has pointed out that the enormous geographical expanse of Canada has been one of the most important factors "conspiring against the forging of a Canadian identity" (Elder 1989:9). Northrop Frye points out that every part of Canada is shut off by its geography, and refers to "solitudes touching solitudes" (Frye 1982:59). In his essay Naegele stresses not only the enormous distances in Canada, but also the psychological impact of the vast empty spaces in the country where there is next to no settlement (In Blishen et al 1961).

Several authors have suggested that the difficulties imposed by distance in Canada have prompted Canadian scholars such as Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan and others to devote so much attention to the matter of communications. Certainly they may have something to do with the decision in Canada to create public corporations in the fields of transportation, communications, film making and broadcasting as a means of coping with the situation. And it is presumably no "accident" that several of Canada's most outstanding contributions to the field of adult education involve broadcasting and film distribution systems, as a way of dealing with problems of communication.

A Conservative Society

One of the most frequently identified attributes of Canadian society, often stated in terms of contrast with the United States, is that of a general conservatism in the Canadian point of view. It is often attributed to, or mentioned in connection with the decision on the part of the Canadian North American colonies not to join in the revolution undertaken by the American colonies in 1776. S.M. Lipsett has termed it Canada's "counterrevolutionary past", a term which has been used by several other authors as well (In Kruhlak et al 1973:4). Lipsett and others have pointed out that the Canadian constitution (the British North America Act of 1867), by contrast with that of the United States, created a strong central authority and that as a people, Canadians have been relatively law abiding and accepting of authority. The phrase in the Canadian constitution, "peace, order and good government", is contrasted with an equivalent in the American constitution, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

Naegele identified a number of significant qualities related to this "conservatism". He comments:

> Individually, by contrast with the individual American, the Canadian seems older, more self-contained, more cautious, more unexpressive. Collectively, it may be the reverse: Canada seems the younger country, less diversified and developed, still on the verge of becoming committed to its independence, more diffident, more constrained.... (In Blishen et al 1961:29)

He observes, further, that Canadian polity reflects "the predominance of the British traditions" and "a soberness that dislikes public quarrels or heated and personal public displays" (p.37). The elitism and social class structure in Canada that was documented in John Porter's book, *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965), was a further indication of the conservative aspect of Canadian society.

Armour (1981) sees this conservatism reflected in a willingness in Canada to feel a stake in the community and to be content with a form of personal freedom "which is not bought at the expense of others" (p.49). He sees it demonstrated in the Canadian attitude toward the law, a law "which derives its force from the ideal of community and not from the arbitrary decision of any individual" (p.84). R.B. Elder (1989) has more recently made the same point, stressing a Canadian tendency to feel that social good should have primacy over individual rights. Richard Gwynn has commented that Canadians have moved somewhat from the older social stratification, to what he calls "a meritocratic elitist society" (Gwynn 1985:192).

Dominique Clift (1989) stresses some of the same features of the Canadian psychology, tracing it in part to Canada's "peaceful and evolutionary development" (p.13) from its colonial past and its ingrained tendency to "get along" and seek compromise:

> Canadian politics knows very little of competing ideologies. Its primary concern is not so much to convey the will of the majority as a basis for government policy but to point the way towards fruitful accommodations between competing groups...and to satisfy sectional claims without weakening the foundations of national unity. (Clift 1989:18)

Clift, like Frye, sees a connection between the idea of the frontier and the "garrison mentality" prevalent in the early development of Canada, and our readiness to accept or defer to authority—we must stay together and accept strong leadership if we are to survive. In his chapter on "The Conservative Vision" in his recent work about the Canadian psyche, Robin Mathews (1988) draws on historian W.L. Morton in finding Canadians with a respect for authority and tradition, seeing loyalty as a cardinal virtue and accepting the importance of community in human affairs.

A Communitarian Society

As indicated above, some authors relate to the conservative tendencies in Canadian society an acceptance of communitarianism. Naegele (In Blishen et al 1961) describes it in the context of forces strengthening coherence in the Canadian system. Frye (1971) sees it as flowing from earlier times, when Canadians, in order to survive and prosper had to work together at the group and community

level. Van Loon and Whittington (1987) identify a similar element, which they term "corporation".

Leslie Armour, in *The Idea of Canada* (1981), gives particular stress to communitarianism as a Canadian attribute:

> This book argues that the idea of an organic society, one in which the individual has not traditionally been pitted against his society but in which the individual and his society have been seen as a continuity in which neither is intelligible without the other, was deeply imbedded in our beginnings, and has never been eradicated. (p.109)

He points out that in Canada, with such a harsh climate and geographic conditions, it took a group effort to attempt to achieve "the humanization of the land" (p.22). He relates this idea to a Canadian tendency not to create or recognize heroes, or heroic figures.

> If the community is a reality, it need not be brought into being and sustained by exceptional individuals. The common response to events, rather, is the one to be trusted.... The communitarianism and its outcome is one of the sets of ideas which tends to shape our responses. (p.109)

Armour further relates this tendency towards communitarianism to a proclivity on the part of Canadians to have a strong sense of duty and obligations towards the community, and relatively less stress on freedoms and rights.

R.B. Elder (1989) also puts a great deal of emphasis on the Canadian belief in the importance of the community. He makes many of the points which other writers have, but focuses particularly on culture. He asserts that the inhospitable nature of the Canadian territory has created a "terror of the soul" in Canadians and a tendency for people to accept that they must act in concert (p.27). He states that Canadians have a much stronger "idea of community" than have Americans and that there is a conviction in Canada "that there are values to which the individual must submit" (p.51). He sums up: "From its beginnings Canadian social thought has had a communitarian bias" (57).

A Gentler Society

A number of writers have pointed out that Canadian society has a high regard for policies which protect the disadvantaged members of the society. Peter Newman refers to our "relatively gentle society" (Newman 1988:15). Robin Mathews (1988), in commenting on the tendency towards communitarianism, just discussed, states that out of that cultural attribute came a more "humane" outlook than exists in the United States, for instance. Mathews broadens this idea in his book, *Canadian Identity* (1988), in identifying many characteristics of Canadians which have flowed from "the liberal view of society" which "has shaped the very air Canadians breathe" (p.37). He points out, as does Elder, that the ideas inherent in the Social Gospel, which was such a force in the development of Canadian thought and policy, further strengthened the readiness of the Canadian community to support a number of welfare measures, especially in the post Second World War

period (Armitage 1988; Guest 1985). Clift (1989), in her analysis of Canadian society, relates this support for social welfare in Canada to our tendency to stress "co-operation and solidarity" in our policies (p.153).

A number of other writers, popular and scholarly, have pointed out the support in Canada for social security and welfare state measures—often in comparison with the United States. An example of these is Richard Gwyn, in his *The 49th Paradox* (1985). He dwells at some length on what he terms the liberalism of Canadian thought, compared to the American, and by way of summary, quotes an American leader: "You have a quality of civility that is precious, and you have an immensely superior social system" (p.196). The playwrite, John Gray, has overstated the point for effect when he referred to Canada as "saturated with niceness" (Gray 1990:25).

A Readiness to Use Government and Public Agencies

In comparing Canada with the United States, particularly, many writers have pointed out that Canadians have been ready to utilize government and public agencies as a means of developing the country. Examples frequently cited are the transcontinental railways, the public broadcasting system and the Film Board, the Bank of Canada, Air Canada, Atomic Energy of Canada, Telesat Canada and Petro Canada. Examples are also numerous at the provincial level (Jackson, Jackson & B-Moore 1986). Gwyn states: "Canadians trust their government in a way that Americans find quite incomprehensible" ; and further, "[Canadians] believe that the state is their state. And it is" (1985:193, 161).

The fact that Canadians have been willing to use government and its agencies in this way was in part a response to the need which existed for certain services before there was a sufficiently large economy in place to make it possible to rely wholly on the private sector. But students of the subject judge the Canadian approach to have been a result of other factors as well, some of them the characteristics already described. Herschel Hardin (1974) has described Canada as "a public enterprise culture" with an aptitude for managing government-owned commercial enterprises.

Concerns About Independence and Continentalism

A final distinguishing characteristic of Canadian society, especially in the last forty years, has been its continuing attempt to bolster its independence from its powerful neighbour, the United States. The concern has been mainly in the economic and cultural spheres. In the case of the latter, Canadians were first strongly alerted to the issue by the report issued in 1951 of the Royal Commission on the National Development of the Arts, Letters and Sciences, the "Massey Commission". The Commission spoke out strongly about the dangers posed by an "alien" culture and proposed a series of measures to strengthen Canadian culture and ward off what has been termed "relentless American cultural penetration" of Canada (Whittington & Williams 1981:120). Such issues have not been out of the

limelight in Canada since. Particular attention has been paid to policy concerning the means of the distribution of culture—broadcasting, the press, and book and periodical publishing. The level of concern about these matters which dominated the policies of the Liberal government in the 1970s and the early 1980s and which produced various restrictive measures aimed at American interests has not been shared to the same extent by the Conservative government since 1984. Issues surrounding Canadian culture were a prominent feature of the Free Trade debate, which dominated the federal election of 1988 (Caplan, Kirby & Segal 1989).

The case of American penetration of the Canadian economy has also been at the top of the list of concerns of many Canadians in this period. Beginning in the late 1950s, Walter Gordon and other prominent Canadian figures have warned of the extent and possible harmful effects of American ownership of Canadian industries and resources (Gwyn 1985). The preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects came out in 1957 and described American investments in Canada as "large and getting larger" (Cited in Gwyn 1985:63). Gwyn states that the Canadian economic nationalists dominated the political scene during the 1960s and 1970s, and adds that this was "the first time that ideology has played a major role in Canadian politics" (Gwyn 1985:72). In the year 1972, which was up to that point, at least, the time of the highest figures reached, the following percentages of Canadian industry were owned by foreign powers:

Petroleum and Coal	99%
Book Publishing	95
Rubber Products	93
Transportation Equipment	87
Chemical products	82
Machinery	72
Mining	67
Electrical Products	64
Primary Metals	55

(Gwyn 1985:79)

In 1974, the Canadian government created the Foreign Investment Review Agency to control foreign takeovers, and some of these figures were reduced in the subsequent decade, until the Conservative Mulroney government disbanded the agency. The point to be made here is not the extent of economic domination of Canadian businesses and resources, but the fact that the issue became a controversial one in Canadian society. S.D. Clark may have been correct, however, when he stated that the resistance to U.S. influences in Canada "is very largely the concern of a bureaucratically-oriented Canadian middle class anxious to protect its favored position within the Canadian community" (In Kruhlal et al 1973:62).

As D. Staines has said, the United States has been a powerful continental presence, "friendly and supportive, but also threatening and ominous" (Staines 1986:3). But for many Canadians, by the 1970s, the United States was being

viewed as "the evil empire" and an attitude of seeing "Canada as victim" was being adopted (Myles 1989:1).

By way of summary of this brief review of some of the distinctive features of Canadian society, let us return to Kaspar Naegele's masterful essay of 1961. He pointed out that any nationality requires what he terms "principles of coherence" (In Blishen et al 1961:21). These may be positive values or they may be negative—for instance that we are "not like" the British or the Americans. He continues:

> The positive principles of coherence involve... the elaboration of a range of cultural accomplishments.... Such accomplishments proceed within a consensus. The general consensus of a society—its dominant value system—in turn is recognized through the accomplishments that can be attributed to the members of the society. (In Blishen et al 1961:21)

The foregoing outline of some of Canadian society's distinguishing characteristics may be seen to be distributed, in Naegele's terms, between positive and negative values. Leslie Armour (1981) carries the matter one step further. He asserts that Canadians, for all their worrying about a lack of shared national goals, have over time demonstrated a strong sense of national identity. He defines national identity as "those ideas which, whether anyone consciously attends to them or not, are dispositional states which large numbers of Canadians have in common and which shape, to one degree or another, our communal life" (p.107). He insists that a national identity exists in Canada and has been "strongly influential". He finds that identity in Canada's sense of community. Although there have been "flirtations with continentalism", which he terms "lapses", but nevertheless a result of conscious policy, they have always been stopped "by a deeper sense of the community's convictions" (p.109). He sums up the abiding ideas of the Canadian identity as communitarianism, pluralism and "a sense of history", by which he means a consciousness of the nature of our development (including the importance of communications systems).

The Adult Education Response

The purpose of presenting this summary of some of the distinctive characteristics of Canadian society has been to establish some features of the background against which some of the best known elements of Canadian adult education have developed—and to some extent were the forces to which the field was responding. Each of the nine characteristics identified may be seen to have significance for the nature of the adult education enterprise in Canada.

Responsibility for the field of education is generally assigned to the provinces under the Canadian constitution. This determined the nature and structure of major aspects of the field of adult education as well. But unlike the field of formal education, much adult education activity in Canada—as in many other coun-

tries—was sponsored by non-governmental agencies. This was a strong factor in the readiness of so many of those who were engaged in the field to be willing to establish a national organization in 1935, even though the constitution assigned responsibility for education to the provinces. Provincial governments had not established a strong presence in the field of adult education at this time, and did not begin to do so until some 25 years later (Selman 1982).

Although many of the concerns of both programmer and participant in adult education were then, as now, local and personal or individual in nature, it has been an abiding characteristic of the field that it be concerned as well with the relationship between the individual and society—what is here being summed up under the idea of citizenship education. Many persons engaged in this work, for practical and/or philosophical reasons, saw virtue in the creation of a national organization for the field. As will be described in some detail in the next chapter, the national body formed in 1935, which was envisaged by many of its founders as a clearing house body which would mainly serve institutional and professional interests, was soon transformed into one which conducted large educational programs under its own sponsorship—almost entirely in the field of citizenship education. The fact that a national, non-governmental organization existed in the field provided a means or an instrument which could be used by those interested in the development of an informed citizenry, and of a sense of Canadian identity. The various projects sponsored by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) over the decades may be seen to have been a response to, or as affected by the elements of the Canadian identity, as outlined earlier in this chapter. This will be pursued in detail in subsequent chapters, but clearly may be seen to be true in the case of major CAAE projects such as National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum, the Joint Planning Commission, the Commission on the Indian Canadian, People Talking Back, and the contemporary joint efforts with several social movements.

As will be pointed out in the following chapter, which describes the work of the CAAE in the field of citizenship education, informed observers of adult education in Canada have been struck by the degree of involvement of the field here in citizenship concerns. One of those in the best position to judge was Gordon Hawkins, an Englishman who was knowledgeable about adult education in various countries and who was for a time the Associate Director of the CAAE. He wrote an article in 1954, soon after he joined the CAAE staff, which was published in both Britain and Canada, in which he described the general character of the field in Canada. He saw it to be concerned in large measure with citizenship education, or what he terms "the 'community' aspects of adult education". He continued:

> Partly this is a consequence of geography and time. With newly formed and changing communities, with immigrant groups, with the awful challenge of distance, methods and aims are bound to be different [than in Britain]. But there is also a newer, consciously evolved philosophy of adult education. It stems from a deep

> concern with the processes of democracy—with *how* the individual and the group and the community work, as much as with *what* they set out to achieve. (Hawkins 1954:2)

The editor of the CAAE's journal in the 1940s summed up the foregoing by simply stating that citizenship education was "the recurring theme in adult education in Canada" (Morrison 1945:1). In an editorial published in the journal in 1949, Roby Kidd, who was the Associate Director of the Association and two years later became the Director, stated: "The mission now accepted by adult education is that of developing well informed citizens, capable of participating intelligently in the democratic processes of government" (Kidd 1949:3).

There is further evidence of the special place which education for citizenship has had in the history of adult education in Canada. In the mid-seventies, the present author set out to determine what elements or projects in the field in Canada were most highly valued by informed Canadian adult education practitioners. By means of a questionnaire distributed in 1974, a selected group of the better-known practitioners across the country were asked to list the programs or projects in Canadian adult education which were generally most outstanding, with some weight given in their judgment to projects through which Canada had made a noteworthy or original contribution to the methodology of the field. The "top" four projects (five, if one separates Farm Forum and Citizens' Forum) and eight of the top ten were in the field of citizenship education. The top ten were:

Antigonish Movement
Farm Forum (and Citizens' Forum)
Frontier College
National Film Board Film Circuits
Banff School
National Film Board Challenge For Change
CAAE and the Joint Planning Commission
Social Animation in Quebec
NewStart Corporations
Couchiching Conferences

(Selman 1975)

It is clear that many of the major citizenship education projects in Canadian adult education have a close relationship to the elements of the Canadian identity which were described in the previous section. Camp Laquemac was clearly a response to the challenge of bilingualism and the "two solitudes" of Canadian society. The factor of regionalism, and perhaps that of communitarianism, may be seen to lie behind a project such as the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia. The important role played by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board may be seen as a response to the "problems" of distance and regionalism, and the work of Frontier College may be seen as another response to the challenge of distance and the far-flung frontiers of Canadian society. National

Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum relate to several of the factors, in their methodologies (print and broadcasting) responding creatively to the problems of distance and regionalism, and in their goals to an attempt to strengthen a sense of Canadian nationalism and identity. The Women's Institutes may be seen as a response to geographic isolation, and in their close association with government, perhaps a reflection of the readiness of Canadians to use government as a partner in the course of social development. The multicultural nature of Canadian society may be seen to be behind many of our approaches to citizenship education, including much community development activity. It may also be argued that generally, adult education activities aimed at social change in Canada tended to function within what has been described above as the "conservative" nature of Canadian thought and action, and that even in desperate times, such as the Great Depression, there was little truly radical activity in the adult education movement. These and related matters will be pursued in the chapters that follow.

It was stated earlier that the projects in Canadian adult education which address aspects of citizenship, many of which have already been mentioned, are in general the best known parts of the field in Canada and the most highly regarded in the international community. This is not to say that there are not other aspects of adult education in this country which have gained international recognition. The research of some leading Canadian scholars such as Allen Tough, Coolie Verner, Roger Boshier and others comes to mind, as does the pioneering intellectual work of Roby Kidd and Alan Thomas with respect to lifelong learning, as well as some aspects of the application of new technology in distance education. But it is justifiable to state that Canada's considerable reputation for leadership in adult education rests in the main on major projects in the field of citizenship education.

There is considerable evidence to support the statement concerning the high regard and widespread impact of Canadian adult education in the field of citizenship concerns. Some of it will be considered in the following paragraphs.

The first UNESCO World Conference on Adult Education was held at Elsinore, Denmark, in 1949. In reporting on that conference, E.A Corbett stated that "every English-speaking delegate" was familiar with "the new techniques in radio education developed through National Farm Radio Forum" (Cited in Kidd 1950:xi). In 1951, UNESCO commissioned a study or detailed description of the Farm Forum project so that the techniques involved could be made known to other countries, especially those in the emerging Third World. The study was edited and in part written by Alex Sim (1954), one of the founders of the project, and published in 1954. In his study of "listening groups" in adult education published by John Ohliger in 1967 and largely devoted to the experience in the United States and Britain, the author includes a five page description of Farm Forum (and a shorter section on Citizens' Forum) and states that "adult educators have regarded the listening group projects started in Canada during the Second World War as outstanding examples of such efforts" (Ohliger 1967:39). Later in this publica-

tion, Ohliger made particular reference to the contribution of Canada's Farm Forum in pioneering "feedback" techniques whereby listening groups could communicate their opinions back to the program organizers. He indicates that the Canadian example had considerable influence on subsequent projects in other countries in this respect (p.77-78). In his international survey of trends and issues in adult education published in the mid-seventies, John Lowe (1975) acknowledged the importance of Farm Forum as the pioneering use of radio for the education of farmers (p.119). It has been stated that in the case of Farm Forum, projects subsequently developed in at least 44 different countries (the most large scale example being in India) which had clearly been based on the Farm Forum model (Cochrane et al 1986).

The other Canadian program which has been very widely recognized in the international community is the Antigonish Movement, the educational program about co-operatives run by the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia. Founded in 1928, when the Extension Department of the university was created, the program became well known in a relatively short period of time, as did its director, Rev. Moses Coady. A report on Canadian adult education in an international journal written as early as 1935 gave more space to the Antigonish Movement than to any other project and quoted an American "leader in adult education" as saying that this project was "the most significant on the American continent" (Thomas 1935:76-77). Coady's book about the work, published in 1939, the international attention focussed on the project after the war by both the United Nations and some of the large foundations, the communications "network" of the Roman Catholic Church, and the clear relevance of its methodologies to the needs of the emerging developing countries, all contributed to the project becoming extremely well known outside of Canada. Coady himself, in the words of Ernest Stabler, "became the St. Paul of adult education in North America". After Coady's death in 1959, the University established a college in his name to house more adequately the many hundreds of visitors who came to study the movement's work each year. Stabler states that in the period 1960 to 1981, some 2500 students from 111 countries came to the Coady Institute for diploma or other courses (Stabler 1987). St. F. X. also extended its influence by sending teams of instructors and key personnel as consultants to many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Milner 1979; Stabler 1987).

The Antigonish Movement has received recognition as well in the professional literature of adult education which has been produced outside of Canada. On two different occasions during the 1980s, Tom Lovett, the well known British scholar and activist, published descriptions in some detail of the work and philosophy of the Antigonish Movement (In Thompson 1980; Lovett, Clarke & Kilmurray 1983). In two of his well known books, the prominent American scholar, Stephen Brookfield, has also drawn extensively on the Antigonish experience (Brookfield 1984a; 1986). These four works are representative of those which provide a clear

indication of the importance which is attached by experts outside Canada to this program.

Other Canadian programs in the general field of citizenship have been recognized as well. Canada is generally acknowledged in the Women's Institutes/ Countrywomen of the World movement as having invented this kind of organization. Frontier College received a UNESCO award in 1977 for its work in adult education and literacy, perhaps the only program in the more highly industrialized countries which has been so recognized. The Joint Planning Commission, a project staffed by the Canadian Association for Adult Education which functioned for some twenty years beginning in the late 1940s, was studied by visitors from many countries. Challenge For Change, the project run co-operatively by the National Film Board and various educational institutitons, which involved the application of film-making (and subsequently videotape) to the community development process, was of interest to many developing countries. Some of these sent personnel to Canada to study the methodology, and several persons who had been involved in such projects in Canada spent a great deal of time abroad assisting agencies in other countries with the application of the methodology (John Grierson Project 1984).

The author has had some personal experience which is relevant to the matter under discussion. When he and the late Roby Kidd published a book of readings in 1978, containing articles about adult education in Canada during the 1960s, we entitled it *Coming of Age* (Kidd & Selman 1978). We were "scolded" by a knowledgeable English reviewer for using that title. He stated that Canada had long had an established reputation for excellence in adult education (especially in the field of education for citizenship) and that it had "come of age" in that field well before the 1960s.

3

The Canadian Association for Adult Education: Leader in Adult Education for Citizenship

One of the most important factors in the continuing attention paid by adult education in Canada to citizenship concerns has been the role played by the national adult education body for English-speaking Canada, the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE). This Association was founded in 1935 and has been in continuous existence since that time. Throughout its career, it has played an active role in citizenship education and has encouraged other persons and institutions to do the same.

Why has the role of the CAAE been so influential in this field? First of all, it has been an important and world-famous programming organization itself. Although its creators did not intend this to be the case, as described below it became a programming agency of considerable stature, through National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and the Joint Planning Commission and its high standing in the eyes of the international adult education community enhanced its influence at home as well. Secondly, especially for the first few decades of its existence, many of the leading figures in all sectors of adult education across Canada played a part in the organization and carried the example of its important citizenship education work back to the regions. By the 1950s, and especially so thereafter, there were major sectors of the rapidly expanding field which had little if any connection with the CAAE. However, the Directors of the Association were persons of considerable national prominence and ability and made particular efforts to make regular contact with leaders in other sectors, both nationally and in the regions. This included such areas as industry-based training, education within the labor movement, government-sponsored manpower training, university extension, provincial departments of education, human relations training and continuing professional education. During the 1950s and 1960s, the CAAE built up services within the Association, such as library and reference services, specialized newsletters, and perhaps most influential of all, the journals published

by the Association, all of which had the effect of strengthening awareness about the work of the CAAE on the part of those who might not have played any direct role in its work. Ian Morrison, who became Director in 1974, has made particular efforts to broaden the lines of communication with other voluntary and non-governmental organizations in the country—through the Committee of National Voluntary Organizations and by other means. In the mid-1980s, the CAAE established working relationships with seven social movements in Canada and has been in close touch with leaders in those other sectors. So although the CAAE has never been an impressively large organization, it has by these various means had networks of communication and some influence in all parts of the country and with a number of specialized sectors of the field.

The Corbett Years

The Canadian Association for Adult Education was established by persons engaged in adult education in universities, government agencies and voluntary organizations. (See Armstrong 1968; Faris 1975; Selman 1981). There was encouragement to create such an organization, and the promise of some start-up funding, from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which had a decade before assisted in a similar way with the establishment of a national organization in the United States. The founders of the Canadian body envisaged its role to be that of a communications, clearing house and advisory body, the servant of professional and institutional interests in the field. Such was not to be the case, however.

At least two main factors intervened to change the course of events. The first of these was the appointment as the CAAE's first Director of E.A. "Ned" Corbett. Corbett had intended to go into the Presbyterian ministry, but decided in due course, and after a time in the army in the First World War, that this was not for him. (He spoke later of setting off on the road to Damascus, but falling among adult educators.) He joined the staff of the Extension Department of the University of Alberta and subsequently became its Director. He became firmly committed to the role of adult education as an instrument not only of personal, but also of social change. Most of his experience in the field of adult education having been acquired in Alberta, he was particularly attuned to the field's role in rural society. He had also acquired a firm commitment to Canadian nationalism and was a conscious and persistent worker on behalf of the development of a distinctive Canadian identity.

The second factor which had impact on the direction of the CAAE's activities was the fact that shortly after the organization was founded, Canada was plunged into the Second World War, and flowing from that, the period of "reconstruction" thinking, planning and action. Few if any aspects of Canadian life were unaffected by the impact of the war effort and the leadership of the CAAE, most of all Corbett himself, were anxious that the relatively new organization should make a

meaningful contribution to both the war and the reconstruction efforts. On the outbreak of the war, the CAAE Executive sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister:

> The Canadian Association for Adult Education, comprising all university extension departments, having a total of forty-seven affiliate organizations and offering courses and radio listening groups throughout the Dominion, lays at the disposal of the federal government its services and facilities for information and education in citizenship and public affairs. (In Armstrong 1968:117)

Corbett had strong views about society and the role which adult education should play in moulding it. He possessed, as Ron Faris has put it, a "burning social conscience, fired by the social gospel theology which characterized divinity schools of the day" (Faris 1975:23-24). He had been wounded in a gas attack during the First World War, had a horror of war and a fervent belief in the merits of the democratic system, including the fullest possible participation by an informed citizenry in the workings of society. As Armstrong and Faris have pointed out in their studies, Corbett was also a Canadian nationalist and was concerned about the task of building a single nation in Canada, in spite of geographical and other difficulties. As he put it in the fall of 1937, "In Canada we are so far apart geographically that frequent interchange of ideas and opinions will always be difficult" (Corbett 1937:2). In his study of the Wartime Information Board, W.R. Young refers to Corbett as "a leader of [the] intellectual mafia" who were "promoters of a Canadian national consciousness" (Young 1978:23-24). Such views help to explain Corbett's commitment to citizenship education as a priority and his readiness to work closely with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board, both instruments designed to bridge the gaps in Canadian society and to promote a feeling of national identity.

The first clear signal of the readiness of the CAAE to move into a sustained direct programming role appeared in the fall of 1937. At a meeting of the Executive in mid-September, Corbett was authorized (no doubt at his own suggestion) to begin publishing pamphlets for use by study groups and to enter into discussions with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) about possible joint programming. The CAAE made an arrangement with Ryerson Press for the publication of a series of pamphlets and in early 1938, with a series of radio talks about adult education, launched its long period of close co-operation with the CBC (Armstrong 1968:102-7). By mid-1939, the organization was well launched on the promotion of study groups (in co-operation with local adult education organizations) and radio listening groups. In the summer of 1939, it employed Neil Morrison to serve as liaison officer with the CBC, organize listening groups and arrange training for group leaders. This was the background which enabled it to offer its services to the Prime Minister in September of that year and to claim experience with "education in citizenship and public affairs".

What these developments reveal was that the CAAE had for its own purposes, subsequently reinforced by urgent wartime needs, moved to a position where it had added to the original clearing house function of the organization, the direct promotion of citizenship education by means of publications, study groups and broadcasting. The whole ideological atmosphere in the country at the beginning of the war leant emphasis to the necessity of strengthening the democratic nature of society, in the face of the challenge from the totalitarian, fascist states abroad and anti-democratic forces within. Corbett later described in this way the situation he faced as Director of the CAAE:

> To create from a document of aims and purposes a national institution dedicated to the idea that continued learning throughout life was not only possible, but necessary if democratic institutions were to survive. (Corbett 1957:113)

And as he put it in a report to the Carnegie Corporation in March of 1941:

> In a country at war, the educational needs and wants of its citizens must not be overlooked or forgotten. This is supremely important if democracy is to be strong and vital in opposing the totalitarian states. (Armstrong 1968:116)

In his study of Corbett's leadership role in the CAAE, Armstrong describes his aim during the war years as "to involve the whole adult education movement in the gigantic task of educating for democratic citizenship and effective post-war reconstruction" (Armstrong 1968:130).

In the period between the founding of the CAAE in 1935 and the early months of the war, it is clear that the CAAE changed its goals by adding to the original clearing house and information center idea a direct programming role in the field of citizenship education. There is a crucial distinction, however, between fostering adult education about questions of concern to the citizen—public affairs topics and social goals—and taking a position on those questions. Up until 1940, or early 1941, the CAAE had done only the former. It was at this point that Corbett's leadership set the CAAE on a course which in the ensuing two years resulted in the Association taking a position on national policy questions.

With the outbreak of the war, the government itself was plunged into the propaganda business. Through the Bureau of Public Information (later replaced by the Wartime Information Board), it sought to define the issues for which the war was being fought and to establish a concept of Canadian nationalism which would rally all Canadians behind the war effort. Publicity and educational techniques were employed to mobilize Canadians for wartime activity (Young 1978). It was amidst this sort of atmosphere—the yeasty, somewhat radicalized legacy of the Depression years, with an "overlay" of the widespread use of propaganda by official government sources—that the CAAE was sorting out its role. As Corbett subsequently observed:

> The coming of the war gave CAAE its first opportunity to depart from its prescribed course as a clearing house and to participate in a national program of action. (Corbett 1946:99)

Looking at these events from outside the adult education movement, W.R. Young

has commented that the adult educators viewed the war as "a great opportunity for citizenship education". The educators hoped that their activities could provide the framework within which citizens could be encouraged "to read, to listen, to think and to decide" (Young 1978:27,30).

One can see the evolution of CAAE policy in this two year period, 1941 to 1943, as falling into two stages. The first of these represented a decision to join in with or enhance the efforts being made by the government to marshall support for the cause of democracy, as a means of strengthening the war effort. (Of course this was consistent with the deep convictions of most Canadians anyway and was a longstanding goal of many persons and organizations in the adult education movement.) In his report to the annual meeting of the CAAE in 1941, Corbett went further. He called upon the Association to:

> re-affirm our belief that a democratic way of life is the good way of life.... That's our job, to show people what a living, shining thing Democracy can be. [The CAAE must] throw off its attitude of academic detachment and make it quite clear that it intends to use whatever methods of propaganda are sound and legitimate in helping people to think clearly about the kind of world we have the right to look for when this war is over. (CAAE Director's Report 1942)

With the exception of the use of the word propaganda in the foregoing, adult educators of the day would on the whole accept this view.

This then represents the first stage of the transformation of the CAAE from a clearing house to a programming agency. While some individuals within the organization may have questioned the wisdom of the organization moving into direct programming, few, if any would have questioned the move on grounds of principle. Especially in view of the absence of other national educational agencies (education being a provincial mandate), it seemed appropriate for the CAAE to engage in "national" educational activities such as co-operation with the CBC on Farm Radio Forum and with the National Film Board on its film circuits, and the publication of materials for use by study groups across the country. Many adult educators in Canada, then and since, have seen this as an appropriate role for the CAAE, and it has continued in diverse ways over the years to engage in and encourage citizenship or public affairs education.

But beginning in 1942-43, the CAAE moved one step further. In addition to raising public affairs questions for consideration, the CAAE resolved to take a stand on some broad matters of national policy. Here the organization, in the view of many, crossed over the line between education and propaganda, between raising questions and answering them. This second stage surfaced in 1941 and culminated in the declaration which was endorsed by the 1943 conference. In the process, the CAAE allied itself with the "social reform tradition" which had been present in the adult education movement since its earliest years. This stand by the CAAE was a source of some controversy within the organization, caused considerable suspicion of and trouble for the Association, but did not, on the whole, make

a profound or abiding impact on the CAAE's work. What stayed with the organization was a commitment to citizenship education. The avowal of certain political or social policy positions by the Association, very much a product of the period of "reconstruction" planning during the war, did not have a strong lasting effect on the activities of the organization (Selman 1981).

In looking back on this period from the vantage point of 1947, Corbett saw it as of particular significance:

> In 1942-43, we began to realize that the time had come to broaden our base of operations; to restate our objectives, and to outline as clearly and comprehensively as possible the working philosophy of the movement. (Director's Report 1947, cited in Armstrong 1968:134)

In May of 1942, speaking to the Farm Radio Forum conference in Winnipeg, Corbett indicated that sobering decisions faced Canadians in their reconstruction policies and he raised the spectre of "returning to free enterprise with cycles, poverty, and special privilege... or a type of regimentation that may destroy the very thing we are fighting for" (Faris 1975:31). In November of that year, the Council of the CAAE formally endorsed the view that the organization:

> needed to give the most earnest attention to its responsibilities in stimulating and giving guidance to a process of public enlightenment and awakening regarding the issues of the war and objectives in the post-war world. (In Faris 1975:31)

Addressing what was to be a landmark CAAE conference, held in London, Ontario, in 1943, Corbett stated in his Director's report:

> Can we depend on private enterprise to provide full employment or will a considerable measure of government planning and regulation be required? Many of our members may feel that it is not the business of an association such as ours to propagate any particular point of view on such questions, but rather to present all the facts in a completely detached and objective fashion. If, however, we believe that the only hope for world peace in the future lies in some kind of international order based on co-operation, and the concept of collective security, we surely have the right to say so. Such a planned international economy however, implies and depends upon controls which operate effectively in the domestic field as well as in the international field. The Canadian Association for Adult Education has, it seems to me, a definite obligation to make clear its conviction that any return to a laissez-faire social and economic philosophy means a return to those social and economic disorders that must inevitably lead again to war.

And he asked:

> What can we do to assist in the crystallization of public opinion in support of necessary social and economic reforms in the national and international fields? (CAAE Director's Report 1943:2-3)

Corbett was clearly throwing his weight behind a social reform position on the part of the Association.

The 1943 conference, attended by 230 persons, went on to approve unanimously a Manifesto, which called for a continuing role for the Association in citizenship and public affairs education, but also stated that "social controls and

planning are necessary" and that "it is probable that the area of public ownership and control should be extended...." (Kidd 1963:108-09).

The CAAE annual meeting for 1944 was held in Ottawa in September of that year. Corbett's Director's Report to the meeting is a significant statement of how he saw the current position and priorities of the Association. Some parts of the report perhaps reflect some uneasiness in the Association over the stand that was taken in the Manifesto:

> During the past four years the policy of this Association has undergone a complete change. In the first four years of our existence, we followed closely the terms of reference laid down in our Dominion Charter. The Association was a clearing house: a center of adult education interest, and of experimental promotion. But with the development of the National Farm Radio Forum, we automatically entered the program field. Our name became associated with the active propagation of certain points of view. While we might protest our complete educational objectivity, the fact is that through our close relationship with the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, and our sponsorship of a program dealing with practical problems of rural living, we moved out of our Ivory Tower and began to take a look at the world we lived in. We had allied ourselves with people of progressive temper, we began to be accused of having ideas about human affairs, which is always dangerous in Canada. (CAAE Director's Report 1944:3)

In spite of this and other attempts to justify the position taken in the 1943 Manifesto, it became increasingly clear that it did not provide a satisfactory basis on which to create co-operative relationships with a wide spectrum of voluntary associations, a step which was deemed to be necessary for the post-war period.

At the opening of a new program year in September of 1945, the editorial in *Food For Thought*, the Association's journal, was a call to action "for those interested in adult education, public information and responsible citizenship", who were entreated not to let down now that the war was won, but "to find out how to steer the political machine instead of letting ourselves be crushed beneath its wheels" (Morrison 1945:1). In a thoughtful article in the same issue, Alex Sim surveyed the task of citizenship education lying ahead and questioned whether peacetime challenges such as unemployment and poverty could be seen "as dreadful an emergency" as "Dunkirk, Pearl Harbor and the siege of Leningrad" (Sim 1945:24). In a brief to the Ontario Royal Commission on Education in 1945, the CAAE pointed out that it was not involved in vocational or degree credit adult education. "Its [CAAE's] basic creed is that well informed citizens are vital in a democracy and that a well-developed program of adult education is essential to good citizenship" (Quoted in Selman 1981).

Corbett was convinced that the CAAE should play a role as a co-ordinator of a network of national agencies—public and otherwise—which were broadly concerned with citizenship education. The CAAE was successful at its Winnipeg conference in 1945 in bringing together representatives of many of these agencies, some of them (the Wartime Information Board and the CBC) having been

involved in the planning as well. At the end of the meeting, the CAAE was asked to take the lead in establishing a national committee to facilitate co-operative programming. This committee, chaired by Corbett, convened a further national conference in the following year which was on the subject of joint planning by voluntary and government agencies in adult education.

The resulting Kingston conference of May, 1946, was instrumental in creating the Joint Planning Commission, which is described later on. The conference also produced a declaration (drafted largely by Harry Avison of Macdonald College) on the role of adult education:

> The adult education movement is based on the belief that quite ordinary men and women have within themselves and their communities the spiritual and intellectual resources adequate to the solution of their own problems. Through lack of knowledge and lack of leadership these resources are often not mobilized or not directed in constructive ways.
>
> The primary tasks of adult education, therefore, are to awaken people to the possibilities and dangers of modern life, to help them with knowledge and leadership, and to provide channels of communication between different cultural, occupational and societal groups so that the solution of human problems may be sought against the broadest background and in the interest of all. In short, the task is the imaginative training for citizenship. (Quoted in Kidd 1950:24-5)

This eloquent statement of the "mission" of adult education in the field of citizenship education (there was a further paragraph) indicates that the CAAE saw itself still committed firmly to education for citizenship and to the rights and capacities of the individual citizen, but it stopped considerably short of the language of the 1943 Manifesto. From this point on, the CAAE took the 1946 statement as the basis of its activities. The commitment now was to "the imaginative training for citizenship". It would also appear that the leaders in the CAAE who had seen it as an instrument for advancing a particular social or political policy abandoned that effort, and in some cases left the Association (Selman 1981).

The foregoing account has been presented in some detail because it indicates how the CAAE, established to be a clearing house, was transformed into a direct programming agency in the field of citizenship education. The leadership of Corbett and others, and the circumstances of the formative years of the new organization, helped set a course of action which has influenced the organization's goals and activities down to the present day. The manifestations or programmatic responses to the policies described were three notable achievements in the history of adult education in Canada, all seen to be the product mainly of Ned Corbett's leadership. They were National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and the Joint Planning Commission, all of which are described in subsequent chapters. As Alan Thomas, a subsequent Director of the Association said of Corbett and his achievements many years later, "He was a Canadian, and put a stamp on adult education in Canada that was native and indelible" (Thomas 1967:26). A.K.

Armstrong has summed up Corbett's contributions in this way:

> Corbett's values—his belief in voluntarism, his nationalism, and the importance which he attached to free discussion, rural adult education, civil liberties and citizenship training—are indelibly etched in the historical record of the Association during this period. (Armstrong 1968:205)

The Kidd Years

The terms of office of Roby Kidd (the fifties) and Alan Thomas (the sixties), the subsequent two Directors of the Association, although they had distictive characteristics, also had some common elements. Both men shared with Ned Corbett the view that adult education—and the Association—should be active in the field of citizenship education and that the field should retain its sense of being a social movement, and both were vitally concerned about the emerging sense of Canadian identity. But unlike Corbett, they strove as well to encourage and support the professionalization of adult education.

Roby Kidd had worked for the YMCA, in Montreal and Ottawa, for some years before going to Columbia University and completing his doctoral degree in adult education. He joined the staff of the CAAE in 1947 as Associate Director to Ned Corbett and became Director in 1951, when Corbett retired. He remained in that post until 1961.

Kidd had many of the same social and political convictions that Corbett, Coady and other leaders of the field had demonstrated. But for two main reasons he manifested them differently. He saw, for one thing, the needs of an emerging professional group of adult educators and realized that the goals of that group would have to be less overtly political than the CAAE's had been in the previous period. Secondly, there was by the 1950s a wave of conservatism in North American society which made an overt left-of-center image a distinct liability in seeking support and attaining one's other goals. Kidd was a practical leader of organizations and projects and he was sensitive to the winds which were blowing. He was not afraid of controversy, but he chose his ground carefully.

The change in the political climate had been abundantly clear to Kidd before he assumed the directorship of the organization. In the context of his duties as Secretary of the Joint Planning Commission, he had had to deal with strident conflict of views over broadcasting policy and other issues. More telling were the series of conflicts which arose in Farm and Citizens' Forum in the closing years of Corbett's directorship (See Faris 1975), some of them spearheaded by James Muir, the President of the CAAE itself. Kidd spoke to these matters directly in his first Director's Report to the Association in 1952:

> This year we have been subjected to criticism in pretty equal doses from all parts of the compass and all parts of Canada. We have been castigated on many counts, from the ads we have accepted in *Food For Thought* up to policy decisions of the

Executive Committee. (Kidd 1952:5)

Kidd pointed out that anyone dealing with "bread and butter questions affecting the daily lives of Canadian people" could not expect to be immune from criticism "because of good intentions". He went on to point out, perhaps especially to the more activist members:

> But an organization like ours has bounds and limitations which we must recognize. It is not and by its nature cannot be the radical agency of social action which some of you might prefer. Nor can it be a research agency only—simply observing and reporting facts. Our work cannot be done in splendid isolation; we must stay close to where groups are living and working. The CAAE is concerned about the welfare of, but cannot be the mouthpiece of, the farmer, the union member, the housewife, the business man. (Kidd 1952:5)

Citizenship education, in the broad sense in which the term is being used here, continued to be a central feature of the CAAE's work during the Kidd years. In his first annual report as Director, Kidd spoke of the network of partnerships with other organizations on which the CAAE relied:

> This concept of the CAAE as a partnership, in fact and in the making, working with many organizations and interests towards the goal of responsible citizenship, is an essential key to an understanding of this report. (CAAE Director's Report 1952:2)

The standing of the CAAE in this field was revealed when in 1953 the Citizenship Branch of the federal government held a national seminar on citizenship matters. Attendance was by invitation and at least 12 of the 88 attending, including Ned Corbett, Roby Kidd and Clare Clark of the CAAE staff, were prominent figures in the Association. Most of these persons also gave papers at the meeting. The recommendations of the seminar recognized the efforts of the CAAE in citizenship education and urged the Citizenship Branch to work with and support the meritorious CAAE projects (Canadian Citizenship Branch 1953).

In early 1954, the Association's journal published an article by Rev. Moses Coady, according warm editorial support. It included a strong statement of the citizenship education function of adult education:

> Education is the key that unlocks life to man in organized society. Adult education is the mobilization of all people, including those who are today poor and illiterate, for continuous learning. It is based on the conviction that people should not be allowed to float down the river of events—that positive, purposeful effort should be put into the business of guiding them up the rushing streams of progress. They should come under their own power, of course. It is the work of educational institutions to organize them to do this. (Coady 1954:4)

In his report to the twenty-first anniversary annual conference of the CAAE in 1956, Kidd returned to the theme of citizenship education, saying that adult education is "a basis, perhaps *the* basis, for responsible citizenship". He stressed that the Association "must always be found...in the thick of life's urgencies and its passions" (CAAE Director's Report 1956:13).

In 1952, the CAAE published a pamphlet entitled *Questions and Answers about*

Adult Education in Canada, of which 100,000 copies were printed. To the question concerning the objectives of adult education, the answer was:

> To stimulate a genuine spirit of democracy
> To broaden our spirit of tolerance
> To bring us the feeling of belonging
> To aid in establishing a culture for everyone,
> not just for the elite (CAAE 1952:6)

In 1960, towards the end of Kidd's term as Director, a bilingual pamphlet on *Adult Education in Canada* was published jointly with the CAAE's French language counterpart, the *institut Canadien d' education des adultes* (ICEA) (1960). Under the heading of "Aims and Objectives", the purposes of adult education were stated in a form which gave primary emphasis to citizenship, very much in the same vein, and using some of the same words contained in the 1946 CAAE declaration (CAAE/ICEA 1960).

Kidd's leadership of the CAAE consistently gave emphasis to the citizenship education function and tradition of the organization. He was supported in this effort by Gordon Hawkins, who served as Assistant Director for the years 1955 to 1959, and who has been quoted at some length earlier. Hawkins was an eloquent speaker and talented writer and organizer and gave strong leadership to the liberal and citizenship education activities of the Association. He also served as "permanent" chairman of the Citizens' Forum broadcasts for two of it seasons. His talents and natural interests in the field further strengthened the CAAE's work in this field.

Throughout the Kidd years, the Association continued its major citizenship education projects, Farm and Citizens' Forum and the Joint Planning Commission, carried out many other more short-term programs in the citizenship field (often in association with the Canadian Citizenship Council and/or the Citizenship Branch of the federal government) and promoted informed citizenship through the Commission for Continuous Learning and the National Commission on the Indian Canadian.

In terms of the apportionment of resources of the Association, the two Forum projects lost something of their dominance during the decade. Kidd believed in their importance, an aspect of his strong sense of the centrality of citizenship education as a function of the field, but it was only natural that as new programs and new goals for the Association appeared, they should claim attention. It is likely fair to say that the Joint Planning Commission had a special place in the heart of Roby Kidd. When he joined the CAAE staff in 1947, his chief assignment was to act as the executive secretary of the project and he saw it through its formative years, relinquishing the task when he became Director in 1951. It was an imaginative approach to voluntary co-ordination and consultation at the national level among agencies—public and private—concerned with adult education, social and cultural development. The biographer of John Robbins, a co-

founder of the Commission along with Ned Corbett, has called it an instrument of "the social growth of Canada" (McLeish 1978:103).

A new direction for the Association during Kidd's tenure was the role that was played in "study-discussion programs". From 1956 until Kidd's departure from the CAAE, a project was mounted, with initial funding from the Fund For Adult Education in the United States, which involved the Association in a series of experimental and demonstration group study courses. These were typically programs which involved groups of people reading certain materials in advance and then coming together on a regular basis to discuss the ideas dealt with in the readings. In this instance, Kidd "picked up on" work which was being promoted by foundations in the United States and was successful in obtaining some of the funding for such work in Canada. He created the Commission for Continuous Learning within the CAAE and over several years it sponsored demonstration groups in Canada, developed Canadian study courses of several types, and co-ordinated the efforts of several agencies across Canada which were also offering such programs. Only a small number of the courses so offered dealt with public affairs or citizenship matters as the content of the programs, but the whole project fell within the field of liberal education, involving the development of skills in analyzing and expressing ideas. In addition, some of the courses dealt with aspects of Canadian culture (music, folk songs, economic matters, etc.)

A close relationship was maintained with the Citizenship Branch of the federal government. Many grants were obtained from that source over the years, beginning in 1953, for financing meetings and the production of program materials. In his report for the year 1955-56, Kidd stated that several of the Association's projects during the year had been made possible by the Branch. In the year 1958-59, for instance, grants from the Branch financed a major conference and study of residential education in Canada, a series of eight research papers on voluntary action for use in that sector, a series of study-discussion readings on constitution and government, an annotated list of Canadian fiction which bore on citizenship matters, and a collection of tapes and kinescopes on aspects of citizenship. The Citizenship Branch provided more grants for projects than any other outside agency during the Kidd years.

Kidd and the CAAE vigorously took up the cause of the Native people in Canada, long before that became a prominent national issue. After two years of study and an organizational conference held in Kingston in June of 1956, the National Commission on the Indian Canadian was constituted within the CAAE, officially a standing committee. Clare Clark and Rev. Andre Reynaud, prominent officers of the CAAE (and in the case of Father Reynaud, long a worker in the field of education for Native people), took on the leadership of this work. Activites included clearing house and information services, the publication of a newsletter,

research activities, periodic meetings and conferences, and various forms of advocacy. A full-time paid executive director was employed, beginning in the summer of 1958, and in the second year of operations, the Commission expanded its interests to include the Eskimo people as well. With the co-operation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, a major conference on the Canadian Eskimo was held. It had been intended from the beginning that this organization, once it became firmly established, would become an independent body. It formally separated from the CAAE in January of 1960, becoming the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada.

Kidd's concept of citizenship education was thus by no means limited to the study of civics and public affairs issues. It was a broader, cultural concept. His thinking was in tune with the emerging concern in this period about "Canadian identity", the enriching of the Canadian way of life, and its strengthening in the face of possible American domination. He did not reject foreign influences—quite the opposite—but he was a promoter of Canadian culture. He was fond of quoting Mahatma Gandhi:

> I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.

Kidd was interested in promoting the arts—crafts, literature, film-making—all forms of expression of the Canadian (and human) spirit. Under his direction, the CAAE continued its firm policy of promoting the interests of publicly controlled broadcasting in Canada, making representations to this effect to the Massey Commission and all public inquiries on the subject.

It remains to be indicated that Kidd demonstrated this same broad concept of citizenship in his international work. His first sustained introduction to the role of adult education in the "development" of Third World countries came in the form of an eight-month consultancy to the University College of the West Indies (as it then was), beginning in September of 1958. The book-length report he prepared at the end of that assignment is notable for the amount of attention paid to the arts, culture and other things of the spirit in his report and recommendations to educational authorities in the region (Kidd 1959). In the closing months of his tenure as Director of the CAAE, Kidd, who by this time had become active and prominent in the work of UNESCO, was elected President of that organization's Second World Conference on Adult Education, which was held in Montreal in August of 1960. His outstanding leadership of that conference is generally credited with saving the meeting from wrecking on the heightened Cold War tensions of the period (the "U-2 incident" had happened shortly before). Kidd became one of the most well known international figures in the field of adult education as a result of these and related events, and his influence within the Canadian community was strengthened even beyond what it had been.

The Thomas Years

Alan Thomas succeeded Roby Kidd as Director of the CAAE in 1962 (after a year's interregnum) and remained in the post until early 1970. Thomas saw Kidd as his mentor in many respects, but when he assumed the directorship of the Association, he articulated his goals in quite different ways than had his predecessor. It seems difficult to imagine anyone assuming responsibility for the CAAE with larger ambitions than Thomas held. From his position as Director of this small and impoverished organization, Thomas set out to move the CAAE to the forefront of national policy development and as he later put it, "to attach learning to all matters of public policy" (Selman 1985:8). He sought to convince both policy makers in the country as a whole, especially at the federal level, and adult educators too, of the potential of adult learning as a force in human affairs. The foregoing point is made here because as a result, it is difficult to separate Thomas' thinking about learning from his ideas about citizenship. His focus was on learning, as distinct from education, and he saw learning as a factor in the life of individuals which released energy in such a way as to affect all aspects of life. He told the national bilingual conference on adult education which was held in Ottawa in the fall of 1961:

> We therefore offer as our central concern, not education, in its formal and institutional sense, but learning. Whatever the explicit and various goals of the multitude of agencies which we here are associated with or represent, we have one common concern, the ability of human beings to learn continuously, and the conditions under which learning best takes place. These conditions are the foundation of *the learning society*. It is the stimulation and encouragement of this unique human capacity throughout the whole of an individual life which is the core of our concern, and which can be the core of the entire country. (CAAE/ICEA 1961:16)

Repeatedly, during the decade, Thomas made the point that learning far exceeds the limits of education, and at various times he made great claims for the potential and power of learning, in some cases with a clear connection with citizenship:

> The only human, dignified way to respond to change is by learning.
> Democracy depends on learning.
> Learning, the true currency of post-industrial society....
> Learning must be the true cornerstone of national policy.
> Learning together always breeds effective relationships among men.
> ...A whole new moral code, of which learning and competence are the cornerstones.
> Learning is of course the only alternative to revolution.
> ...For surely most adult educators are aware that the morality lies in the learning, in the activity itself, and not in the effect of the subject matter.
> In every act of learning there is both an act of surrender and a great release of energy.(Selman 1985)

Thomas suggested a view of Canadian history as seen from the point of view

of learning. He pointed out that the Canadian people, like all people, have responded to the crises in their national life in part by learning. The two World Wars, the Depression and other events have brought a response on a massive scale in the form of learning. By this means, the nation has risen to the challenges. He summed up this view:

> Canada has been dominated from the outset by two overwhelming demands on human adaptation, learning-pioneering and immigration.

And to these two factors he subsequently added a third, industrialization (In Lowe 1970:232,34).

Learning must become "the cornerstone of national policy", he stated. "We have only begun to see the potential of free people learning all their lives long" (CAAE Director's Report 1966:9). A strong element in Thomas' thinking was the importance of citizenship education and the role of learning in a democratic society. His interpretation of the tumultuous 1960s, written at the end of the decade, again stresses the centrality of learning:

> What we have seen individually and collectively has been and remains a renaissance, we have seen learning bursting free from the institutions of the society and confronting them one after another, in particular, confronting the institutions of education. (Thomas 1970:2)

The foregoing makes clear just how central to his concept of citizenship was adult learning. He believed that learning was the key to enlightened citizenship as far as the individual was concerned, and that the promotion of and assistance to learning must be a priority for government and all other institutions of society as a means of promoting active participation by Canadians in the development of their society. His social philosophy could appropriately be termed liberal in character, and was thus well suited to the ever-strengthening professionalism which was emerging in the field of adult education at the time.

Thomas was no less committed to citizenship education than his predecessors, but the forms which it took were different. Citizen participation in activities related to the great issues of the day—the environment, human rights, the women's movement, disarmament, etc.—were the hallmark of the decade. Thomas stressed the learning component of citizenship.

Of particular importance during the Thomas years were the activities involving the reports of certain public bodies. Especially after the termination of Citizens' Forum, when the expert editorial skills of Isabel Wilson became available for other duties, the CAAE began to publish summaries of major Royal Commission reports, such as the Commission on Health Services and the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and in a variety of ways, sought to interest Canadians in giving close attention and study to these documents. The report of the latter commission was on a subject of particular interest to Thomas. He had close ties with the Province of Quebec and deep affection for the French language and culture. He invested a great deal of effort in building satisfactory

relationships between the CAAE and the ICEA. And as the strains on Canadian Confederation developed during the decade, Thomas felt deeply involved personally in the outcome and took deep interest in the procedures and the content of the "Bi and Bi Commission". He devoted much space in *Continuous Learning* (the new name of the Association's journal) to the issues involved. He persuaded the officers of the Commission to take a second look at their intended procedures for the involvement of the public and personally carried out a contract which the Association secured for the evaluation of the first four public hearings.

Thomas, though he played a significant role in the growing professionalization of adult education during the sixties, continued to stress the importance of the field's tradition as a social movement. The announcement he sent out for the 1968 CAAE conference, which clearly was to be a crucial one with respect to the future of the organization, stated: "The CAAE is an Association that is a movement". In his report to that same conference, the Director asked those attending a series of pointed questions, two of which were:

> Has the movement quality really vanished and is it romantic to hope to maintain it? Is membership basically a purchase of professional services, or a symbol of the wish to participate in the affairs of an organized movement whose first responsibility is to the community and to learning? (Director's Report 1968)

In the same report, Thomas called for the reinforcement of "the quality of movement" in the Association.

Something of the nature and seriousness of Thomas' aims for the Association is revealed by this excerpt from his speech to the CAAE conference in Vancouver in 1966:

> This is the essence of the Association.... It is the attempt to make learning, the potential we all hold all our lives, effective in an organized way, at the most crucial frontiers and crevices of individual and social lives. To make it valuable, not as preparation for some undetermined future event, but as a replacement for hate, violence and destruction of other views, other ways, other hopes. The relationship of learning and loving has been clearly part of the life of the Association. It has been the attempt to create in a small way the true learning society which we hope to bring about in Canada. (CAAE 1966:61)

The sixties brought about the termination of several programs for which the CAAE had gained an enviable reputation nationally and internationally in the field of adult education. Three of the best known adult education programs in the world, National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and the Joint Planning Commission, all CAAE activities, were discontinued during this decade. Similarly, the well known CAAE project involved in the promotion of study-discussion programs in the liberal arts was brought to a close when the supporting grant funds ran out.

Both Farm Forum and Citizens' Forum were victims of changed living conditions and interests. Both had been steadily declining in terms of listening group participation. Television, which came to Canada in the early fifties, had

increasingly replaced radio as the source of information and entertainment in the home. Citizens' Forum made efforts to convert to television, but though there may have been a significant viewing audience for "The Sixties", the TV version, the number of listening groups continued to drop off sharply. The CBC was also changing its policies in the field of public affairs broadcasting, losing much of its interest in co-operating with community groups (Peers 1979). Farm Forum was discontinued at the end of the program year in 1965. Citizens' Forum had been changed out of all recognition by that time as a result of the conversion to television and the project was officially terminated in 1967. The Joint Planning Commission was by the early 1960s attracting fewer participants. The pattern of three regular meetings a year was changed to that of occasional conferences. It has also been suggested that its unilingual (English) basis of operations was increasingly inadequate in the Canada of the 1960s. In 1968, the CAAE Board accepted the recommendation of the management committee of the JPC and discontinued the project. Thus in the sixties ended three major projects in the field of citizenship education for which both the CAAE and Canadian adult education had been justly famous.

Other activites in citizenship education were put into operation. In the summer of 1963, at a time of major restructuring of the CAAE, it was decided to set up what became known as the Special Programs Committee. During its relatively brief existence, the committee took responsibility for two significant ventures, a tour of Western centres by a panel of speakers from Quebec, and a speaking tour by a leading expert on the women's movement and the education of women. In both cases, the CAAE was in the vanguard of Canadian thinking and concern about these two areas. In the case of the Western tour by leading French Canadians, the three Quebecers who were recruited were Jeanne Sauve, Claude Ryan and Guy Beaugrand-Champagne, the first two of whom were to become famous figures in Canadian national life, and the third a professor of adult education. They toured five large centers in the West, held public meetings, met the press and were interviewed on the media. The series of events about education for women were in each case the first major program on this emerging social issue held in the parts of Canada which were visited.

An indication of the sorts of approaches which were taken to attracting attention to royal commission reports is provided by the following summary of efforts in connection with the Royal Commission on Health Services. The project, which was entitled "The Health of a Nation", included the following:

> Four TV broadcasts and five radio programs were prepared on the basis of wide consultation. The CAAE assembled a kit of materials as a background for discussion and some 2,300 of these were sold to adult education agencies across the country in support of activities in their regions and to individual members of the listening audience. The CAAE itself published a 16-page pamphlet outlining the major recommendations of the [Commission]. Quite apart from its inclusion in the kit, some 25,000 copies of this pamphlet have been sold. (Report in CAAE files)

Somewhat similar activities were engaged in in connection with other major public documents of the period, most notably the volumes of the Bi and Bi Commission as they appeared. In 1968, when the federal government appointed a Task Force on federal government information services, the CAAE persuaded the Task Force to hold "pilot conferences" for the purpose of testing public perceptions and reactions in relation to its task and asked the B.C. and Nova Scotia Divisions of the CAAE to arrange such meetings.

Arising from meetings held soon after Thomas became Director, a project funded by the Citizenship Branch of the federal government was launched which resulted in the publication of four "Program Guides" for use by citizenship convenors and program chairpersons in voluntary organizations. The subjects were: (1) Canadian Nationalism, (2) Public Responsibility, (3) Know Your Community, and (4) Leaders' Guide to Citizenship Programs. Each publication contained suggestions about techniques and topics and listed resources (films, publications) for those planing programs.

One of the most substantial projects during these years was devoted to the subject of voluntary action. In 1962, in response to suggestions made by the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, work was begun on a study of the activities of voluntary organizations, with a view to designing a program for training in leadership in such groups. By 1964, a proposal for a three year project along these lines had been developed by a committee made up of representatives of several organizations, including the National Council of Jewish Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Women's Institutes, the Red Cross and the Junior Leagues. The Executive of the CAAE approved the proposal, having received assurances that the Citizenship Branch, Ottawa, was willing to fund it, at least in part. In the subsequent three years, the broadly based committee met regularly, a monograph on *Voluntary Participation in Canada: A Comparative Analysis* was completed, a special issue of *Interim*,(one of the specialized newsletters published by the CAAE) was devoted to the project, and in 1967, regional workshops were held in Regina and Vancouver and a national seminar in Toronto. Further funds from the Citizenship Branch were forthcoming the following year and the committee entered into an ambitious program involving eight studies related to government/voluntary associations relations. Each topic was to be the subject of a background paper, a seminar, and then the publication of a pamphlet. In the end only two of these topics were developed, "The Advisory Board or Council" and "Grants, Contracts and Subsidies". The pamphlets on each subject were distributed to approximately 15,000 persons in the English version and 5,000 in French.

Since the earliest days of the CAAE, the organization had acted as an advocate on behalf of adult education and in the interest of widening learning opportunities for adults in Canadian society. Since the publication of the Manifesto in 1943, the

matters dealt with in CAAE proposals were fairly directly related to educational matters. Thomas and the other leaders of the Association in the sixties attached great importance to this function and a great deal of energy and resources were invested in such activities. This followed naturally from Thomas' goals, already referred to, to try to link the idea of learning to major areas of government and public policy. The CAAE submitted major briefs to several Royal Commissions and other public inquiries during the sixties, and as already mentioned, the organization also was active in persuading those managing the processes engaged in by these bodies to make them as open as possible to public input, and also to be as "educational" as possible in their activities (Selman 1985).

Another form of advocacy, and the most ambitious undertaken by the CAAE during this period—perhaps ever—was the preparation and publication in 1966 of *A White Paper on the Education of Adults in Canada* (1966b). The Association had not prepared a declaration of this type since 1946, and this one was much more lengthy and specific than any of its predecessors. The White Paper was some 5,000 words in length and was published in booklet form, filling eight large format and tightly-packed printed pages. The paper was "released" at press conferences in almost all the provincial capitals as well as Ottawa on April 5,1966. Of 25,000 copies which were printed, the initial free distribution was 15,000 and some 5,000 were sold in the subsequent few months. The White Paper was an attempt to spell out some of the implications for public policy and institutional behavior of the concept of the learning society. It was largely the work of Thomas himself and was part of the attempt, which took various forms during his tenure as Director, to communicate ideas about the significance of learning in present day society and about ways in which adult learning could be promoted.

One other important development during the Thomas years is worth noting, partly for its implications for the citizenshiup education role of the Association. After many years of trying, the Association was successful in 1966 in securing an annual grant in support of its work from the federal government. Those funds, which at times amounted to as much as one-third of the Association's income, were secured largely on the basis of the organization's work in the field of citizenship education. Such grants were made through the Department of the Secretary of State to several organizations which were seen to be making a constructive contribution to the functioning of the democratic system. There was a sense in which the wish to continue receiving these grants was a reason to maintain the citizenship education work of the Association. It was anticipated that if the CAAE became instead a service organization to professional practitioners, the justification for continued financial support from Ottawa would disappear. It is not suggested that this was a determining factor in the Association's choice of its activities in the subsequent period, but it was certainly an encouragement to remain in such work. The most thorough review by the federal authorities of its

relationship with the CAAE was carried out in 1977. The Association's extensive report to the federal authorities, in which they justified the continuation of the sustaining grant, stressed strongly the citizenship education activities of the organization and also its frequent participation in advocacy activities on matters having to do with adult learning (CAAE 1977).

Thomas announced in 1969 that he would leave his position with the Association early the following year. His ambitious efforts as Director of the Association had been based on a vision of the role of learning in the lives of individuals and societies. He aimed at a basic rethinking of the concept of adult education and its role in society, and sought to build a close relationship between social policy and the role of adult learning. In his words, he sought for the CAAE and for Canada "to combine learning and action in a way no society [had] ever done before" (Selman 1983:17). He also aspired to move the CAAE into the forefront of national affairs, that is, to attach learning to all matters of public policy.

The Morrison Years

Unlike Roby Kidd and Alan Thomas, Ian Morrison, who took over as Director in 1974, had not engaged in advanced academic study in the field of adult education. He had done graduate study in the field of political science and had worked for eleven years with Frontier College, serving as its President from 1971 until he left to head up the CAAE.

Morrison was not very interested in the CAAE playing a role in support of professional and institutional interests in adult education. Kidd and Thomas had served both masters—had tried to make the CAAE relevant to professional interests in the field, while at the same time supporting the social movement dimensions of adult education. Morrison turned away from the former and frequently made the point that the CAAE was a "consumers'" organization. In some ways, Ian Morrison's leadership may be seen as a return to the Corbett point of view. But the world in which he and the organization were functioning in the 1970s and 1980s was a far different world than that of the thirties and forties.

By the time Morrison joined the CAAE in 1974, Alan Thomas, who had left his staff position with the organization to work in Ottawa, had returned to Toronto and was the President of the Association. In Thomas and his successors, Morrison was working with a series of Presidents who supported his view of the Association and its role. The chief emphasis since that time has been advocacy, by various means, on behalf of the adult learner. This has included advocacy to constituted authorities and to public inquiries of various kinds; advocacy about needed improvements in adult education services addressed to the field in general, especially providing agencies; and active alliances with groups seeking changes in society—what have come to be termed the "New Social Movements".

Before looking at each of these areas in turn, mention should be made of a remarkable program in the field of citizenship education which was carried out in 1979. Many Canadians were thoroughly alarmed about the future of Canadian confederation when the Parti Quebecois came to power in Quebec in the election of 1976. Various initiatives were undertaken in the non-governmental sector as a result which sought to strengthen Canadian unity. Alan Thomas, at this time the President of the CAAE, conceived the idea of reviving the partnership between the Association and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and carrying out a Citizens' Forum-like study program aimed at building better mutual understanding among the various elements in the Canadian community (Thomas 1977). Achieving anything of this kind in the late seventies was particularly difficult. Old working relationships, long-since forgotten, had to be recreated; funds had to be raised; the provincial associations of adult educators, who were to be looked to to organize the study groups in the regions, had to be convinced of the value of the project; even his own organization, which had not engaged in such work for over a decade, had to be convinced and brought on-side. Thomas, assisted by staff work from Morrison, some staff and volunteer leaders in the regions, made it all happen. The whole process would have faltered on several occasions if it were not for Thomas's determination. Consultations with various interest groups across the country led to a widening of the focus of the series (with some dilution of its impact), from one which was to have focussed on the constitutional crisis, to one which examined other social and economic questions, some not closely related to the political crisis.

The program, which was called "People Talking Back", consisted of the same basic elements as had Farm and Citizens' Forum—formation of listening (in this case, "viewing") groups, print material about the issues made available in advance, and broadcasts aimed at informing and stimulating the groups. The most significant innovation was a spectacular three hour opening television program on the full CBC network, which was based in Edmonton, but brought in elements from several different cities across the country and carried proceedings from specially arranged discussion groups which had gathered in the local CBC studios. In this way, perspectives from the various regions were shared across the country. There were five subsequent half hour broadcasts relating to the sub-themes.

The project involved significant innovations in public affairs broadcasting, achieved much, but less than was hoped for. The difficulty of organizing the local discussion groups for the project was not overcome very successfully. The provincial adult education bodies which assumed the task (with financial and staff assistance provided) coped with this responsibility with uneven results. The lack of focus in the several topics discussed made it difficult to attract people to the whole series. The CBC, though it committed much effort and many millions of dollars to the project, was not able to diversify its broadcasts across the country as extensively as was hoped. Basically, it was an enormous task to organize groups

across the country and prepare the back-up print material and the broadcasts, and only so much effort could be put into it. As a demonstration of what was possible with the use of recently-developed technology, it was an important event. In terms of the project's educational goals, it had to be judged a limited success. That it happened at all was a tribute to Thomas' leadership and persitence, and to the trans-Canada network of contacts which existed within the CAAE. There was repeatedly during the effort appeals to the long tradition within the CAAE of creative approaches to citizenship education.

During the Morrison period there was a continuation of the CAAE policy of making representations to public inquiries where there seemed to be issues at stake affecting the access of potential and actual learners to supporting services from society. Several representative examples will be mentioned. At the time Morrison took up his duties at the CAAE, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was already in the process of conducting a study of educational provision in Canada, one of a series carried out by that organization on its member countries. The CAAE made representations to the OECD team of examiners, as did some individual leaders from the field of adult education, but the final report of the reviewers (OECD 1976) was notable, in the minds of adult educators, for the scant attention that was paid to that aspect of the field. The CAAE gave very considerable coverage to the whole process in its journal, expressing dissatisfaction over this lack of attention, on the part not only of the reviewers, but also by educational authorities in Canada, who neglected the field in their submissions. The CAAE also complained about the "behind closed doors" nature of the consultations in Canada. The Association also published a 20 page (tabloid) summary of the Report when it appeared and gave it wide distribution in Canada (OECD External Examiners Report 1976).

During the federal election of 1978, the CAAE approached all the political parties with a series of questions related to adult education and adult learning opportunities. The responses were published as a special supplement to the journal (by this time, called *Learning*), in the spring of that year, and a large number of reprints were distributed across the country ("Party Positions" 1978). The Association also presented a significant brief to the Federal Task Force on Canadian Unity in March of 1978 ("CAAE's Brief" 1978). A further example of the Association's advocacy activities was a brief to the Parliamentary Task Force on Employment Opportunities for the '80s. On this occasion the Association had the satisfaction of finding that a number of the matters it stressed in its representations were reflected in the final report (Work for Tomorrow 1980). In the case of another government-sponsored study, that of the National Advisory Panel to the Minister of Employment and Immigration on "overcoming the separation of work and learning", the President of the CAAE, Anne Ironside, was appointed Chair of the group and Ian Morrison and the Association played a prominent role in both the proceedings of the group and the preparation of its report (Learning for Life

1984).

The CAAE had consistently over the years made representations to all public inquiries concerning broadcasting policy and cultural development. For instance, it made a submission to the Federal Cultural Review Committee in 1981. Another example was a brief presented to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Communications and Culture, in 1983 (a response to the report of the Federal Cultural Review Committee). Among other things, the brief supported the activities and potential of the CBC and the National Film Board, stressed the role of learning in cultural development, and made suggestions about the revitalization of federal multiculturalism policy (CAAE Brief 1983). The foregoing represent only some of the Association's activities in connection with public inquiries.

The Association also carried on its activities during this period aimed at seeking to influence the field of adult education itself (and educational policies which governed the field). This may be seen in the tradition of the "declarations" issued by the organization in 1943, 1946 and 1966, which have already been described. Morrison's stance in relation to the field, that of wishing to speak for the learner rather than the institutions or the professional practititoners, came strongly to the fore in this aspect of the Association's work. The programming activities during and since the late seventies were consistently designed to give prominence to policies and programs which met the needs of certain groups of citizens who were not being adequately served by the field. Morrison gave particular attention from the very beginning of his tenure to the learning needs of women and older persons. In the case of the former, the Canadian Congress on Learning Opportunities for Women ("Committee", as it was at first) was initially housed in the CAAE's headquarters and provided with support services, until it subsequently became an independent body. The field of labor education was consistently highlighted as well. Significant work was also done with respect to the education of prison inmates.

In 1982, the most ambitious effort to influence provision in the field was carried out in the form of the joint publication with the French-language counterpart organization, the ICEA. They produced a bilingual publication, entitled in English, *From the Adult's Point of View* (1982). The title was significant; it was a declaration that the interests being advocated were those of learners, rather than those of "the field" or professional interests. Based on a variety of social and economic indicators, and on the results of a poll commissioned by the two Associations and conducted by the Gallup organization, the report documented the field's relative lack of success in serving the interests of seven particular groups in Canada: women, Native people, older adults, the handicapped, immigrants, adults with low educational attainment, and francophones outside Quebec.

The latest effort by the Association to make a ringing public declaration of its commitment to the connection between adult learning and citizenship was a product of its fiftieth anniversay celebrations, in 1985. Drafted by a committee as

part of the preparations for the anniversary year, the statement was considered and commented upon as a part of the proceedings of seven national conferences held in the regions across the country in 1985 and revised and published by the Board of Directors of the CAAE the following year under the title, "Declaration on Citizenship and Adult Learning". It was addressed to "the Canadian community" and in the main focussed on the connection between lifelong learning and the role of adults in their efforts "to build a human, just and democratic society". This declaration represented in its terminology the commitment of the Association to developing the connection between learning and social change. It was squarely in the tradition of the historical roots of the organization, a commitment to the social movement history of the field.

Arising out of the anniversary celebrations of 1985 and the conferences held across the country at that time came a decision on the part of the CAAE to build co-operative working relationships with a number of popular movements which were working for social change. The Association had been working since at least 1983 on identifying a major central thrust for its activities. At the outset these deliberations were focussed on what was termed a "Canadian Lifelong Learning Strategy", but arising from a number of the 1985 conferences came an insistent call for the CAAE to return to its role as the focal point for "a strong adult education social movement". In the words of a summary of one of the conferences (Nova Scotia), "Education is for people; not for the economy". (By R. Faris: memo July 13/85: CAAE files). The Association was also during this period cultivating closer relationships with several social movements. These developments led in turn to the organization of an invitational seminar held in Montreal in June of 1986, at which the CAAE consulted with representatives of six social movements. The meeting was described in the report as intended "to explore strategies for building stronger collaboration among social movements in the Canadian community" (CAAE 1986:5). In her first newsletter to the members of the Association (December 1986) as the newly-elected President, Teresa MacNeil indicated that the Board of the Association had confirmed "six priority themes for CAAE in the coming years: adult literacy, adult education for peace, cultural sovereignty, environmental citizenship, local economic development, and women's access to learning" (President's letter Dec. 1986). Thus a new course of action for the Association was set out for the ensuing years, and up to the present time. (To these original six themes have since been added two more, "learning and the world of work" and "international outreach".

The leadership of the CAAE, with strong guidance and support from its Director, Ian Morrison, has by these means committed the organization to a role which is strongly associated with citizenship education and the role of adult education in the process of seeking social change.

The Association has made a further significant initiative in the most recent period which reinforces its role in this field. It relates to a proposal that the CAAE

become a resource center for civic action in Canada and also the co-ordinating center for a series of local training centers in "civic skills". In 1988, the CAAE re-instituted a former practice of holding an annual national conference. At the first of these, Ralph Nader, the well-known consumer advocate from the United States, was asked to expand on an idea he had raised two years earlier in Canada, that of the creation of a series of local "civic training centers" across the country (Nader 1990:10). He suggested that the "curriculum" of such centers would include:

- rights and remedies under law
- what is past experience: and "don'ts"
- how to get information from corporations and governments
- freedom of information laws
- how to use the media
- how to set up a telephone tree
- how to write a letter to the editor (so that it gets printed)
- how to write elected officials

(Nader 1990:11)

Nader's description of the project was cast very much in the language of participatory democracy and the New Social Movements, with government, big business and other established authorities being seen as the forces to be combatted. Reminiscent of some of Moses Coady's language, Nader described present difficulties as reflecting "a pattern of neglect":

> The government neglects society when citizens neglect their government. In our societies the imbalance in power between citizens and special interests is increasing, and our lives are affected by events beyond our control. The level of skill and true commitment of citizens has to increase to keep pace. (Nader 1990:10)

These ideas were taken up by interested persons in the CAAE and have been the focus of discussion by sub-groups at several recent CAAE conferences. At the time of writing, plans are going forward for the implementation of these ideas in Canada.

In a sense, the CAAE has gone back to its roots in the Corbett era. After a period of some two decades during which, under the leadership of Roby Kidd and Alan Thomas, it had sought to serve emerging professional interests in the field, (without ever abandoning its commitment to citizenship education), the CAAE has returned to a more predominant commitment to adult education as an aspect of and contributor to social change. Ian Morrison and the other leaders of the Association have approached this task in a manner which is relevant to the present characteristics of citizen action—by means of alliances with some of the social movements which are at the forefront of social development. It must be said that because of the professionalization and institutionalization of adult education in the last few decades, the course of action adopted by the CAAE is not one which

appeals to the vast majority of adult educators. But many aspects of the Association's networks of communication and influence with all regions of Canada have been maintained, and it remains a source of leadership and inspiration to many who share the vison of the vital potential role of adult learning as an important ingredient in citizenship.

4

Citizenship and Multicultural Canada: Immigrants and Ethnic Groups

Canada is almost entirely a nation of immigrants. Apart from the Native people (who may also have migrated to what is now Canada in the dim, distant past) all Canadians or their forebears have come as immigrants to this land. The rate of immigration to Canada has varied from time to time, in response to economic cycles and according to variations in government policy, but although the rate has varied, the process has been continuous. This chapter will in part deal with educational services which have been made available to immigrants, upon arrival or in the early period of adjustment thereafter.

The other chief focus of the present chapter is education which relates in some way to the ethnic diversity of Canadian society. This has to do in part with the matter of relations between English-speaking and French-speaking Canada—the two "founding nations". In addition, however, beginning in the latter part of the 19th century, there was substantial immigration from certain areas of mainland Europe and settlement policies (in which the railways played a part) were such that many communities across the prairies particularly, were populated by persons from a particular European country or region, with a majority speaking a single foreign language. This created ethnic "blocs" in various parts of Canada. Particularly in the period following Second World War, the federal government began to develop services which supported this cultural diversity and fostered communication between the ethnic groups and "mainstream" Canadian society.

In the 1960s, when the issues of bilingualism and biculturalism were brought under careful study by the federal authorities, an insistent demand was expressed for a cultural policy which was not "bicultural" but "multicultural". Such a policy was officially enunciated by the federal government in 1971, and placed in legislation in 1988. This chapter is concerned too with the educational dimensions of this multicultural nature and policy in Canada, but as with the other sections of this book, the focus is on those aspects of Canadian adult education responses

which have been noteworthy in some way.

It is not always possible to separate satisfactorily aspects of education according to this dichotomy; those relating to immigrants on the one hand and to multiculturalism on the other, but to the extent this seems helpful, it will be done for present purposes.

Education for Recent Immigrants

As a nation which has continuously received immigrants in relatively large numbers throughout its history, Canada has needed to develop policies in various areas—settlement, employment, social services, education, etc.—in relation to the needs of such persons, as well as those of the considerable numbers of refugees who have been accepted. In the field of education, many immigrants and refugees have required language instruction (in English or French, depending on where they settled) and many have also been in need of adult basic education—education to bring their levels of literacy and numeracy up to a level which would enable them to function effectively, as workers and citizens. In addition, there has been a concern for providing "citizenship education" of the type and extent required in order to gain Canadian citizenship.

Providing a comprehensive picture of the character of these several types of education for recent immigrants is beyond the scope of this study. The most recent thorough review of the state of such services for immigrants was carried out by Freda Hawkins in 1972 (Hawkins 1972). She traced the development of such work, especially that sponsored by or financed by the federal government, found that the organization of such activities had been bounced around from one department of government to another, and generally concluded that Canada had a long way to go in bringing its services to immigrants up to an acceptable level, a level which had been attained in some other countries. One phenomenon which was stressed in the Hawkins study was that of the difficulties arising from the division of responsibilities concerning services to immigrants among the "citizenship" unit (in whatever larger department it was located from time to time), the "immigration" authorities and the "manpower training" authorities. Who was responsible for what, in relation to newcomers?

What Hawkins said about this issue in the early seventies was echoed fifteen years later by a Study Team on Citizenship, Labor and Immigration which was established by the Department of Employment and Immigration Canada. In their report (1985), they pointed out that programs for immigrants, ones that were frequently very similar in nature, were being run or financed by the Department of the Secretary of State and Canada Employment and Immigration. They recommended amalgamation of some of these programs, and in some cases, a larger role for the private, entrepreneurial sector.

Brief reference will be made to the matter of language education for immigrants. Concerted interest in this matter goes back to at least 1918, when J.T.M. Anderson published his *The Education of the New Canadian*, in which he described some of the work being done in Saskatchewan school districts in the fields of basic education and English as a second language instruction. He made a strong appeal that Canadian society give greater attention to this task. Federal, provincial and local educational authorities, and a wide variety of voluntary agencies became active in such work in subsequent decades, the federal government assuming financial responsibility for a great deal of the language instruction. Such work was expanded dramatically in the 1970s and since. The Secretary of State's Department, under provisions covering language instruction and the supply of textbooks, reimbursed the provinces for half the provincial teaching costs of part-time and evening official languages instruction, and the full cost of textbooks. Instruction was delivered mainly via school boards, colleges, and in some cases, voluntary agencies. At the same time, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) operates and fully finances under the manpower training legislation a language training program "for immigrants entering the labor force". The CEIC Study Team (Employment and Immigration Canada 1985) indicated in the mid-eighties that the Secretary of State was providing approximately $9 million a year for its language instruction activity and that the CEIC was spending approximately $55 million per year on its efforts in this area (Employment and Immigration Canada 1985:135). The complications arising from shifting and divided federal responsibility for language instruction become further compounded at the provincial level, leaving some provincial and local agencies unclear as to where support can be obtained (See Rubrecht 1990).

The Canadian Citizenship Branch

In addition to basic education and language instruction which are provided for adult immigrants, the federal government, in many cases in co-operation with voluntary agencies, has sponsored or financed many programs which are aimed at promoting intercultural understanding and integration.

The Canadian Citizenship Branch (CCB) was established in 1945 (a successor to the "Nationalities Branch", which functioned during the Second World War to enlist the support of ethnic groups for the war effort). The CCB was incorporated into the Department of Citizenship and Immigration when the latter was formed in 1950. It appears that during the 1950s and 1960s, the CCB enjoyed a particularly creative period, establishing through its liaison officers in the regions and in other ways a productive relationship with community organizations. Considerable progress was made in advancing the concept of integration rather than assimilation as social policy and in working out close associations with community organizations on citizenship matters. This small Branch of government (15 persons in 1946, 29 in 1952-53 and 37 in 1953-54) stimulated and kept in touch

with community based efforts in such areas as: citizenship rights and responsibilities, human rights education, the relationship between voluntary groups and the state, and the emerging policies of biculturalism and multiculturalism. In 1970, the CCB became part of the Secretary of State's department and subsequently became greatly enlarged, perhaps at the cost of becoming more "distant" from local activities.

In her book Freda Hawkins reported that a government study carried out in 1966 had identified 337 voluntary agencies providing "some kind of service or assistance to immigrants". Of these, 106 were "serving all immigrants", 113 were "serving ethnic groups only", and 118 were "serving religious groups only" (Hawkins 1972:293). At an earlier period, the federal Citizenship Branch had taken an active lead in stimulating the formation of local "citizenship councils", which were intended to co-ordinate—or at least act as a clearing house of information—among the agencies in the community which were working on behalf of newly-arrived immigrants and refugees. Hawkins made these general comments in 1972:

> Communication has been very weak, vertically (to Ottawa) and horizontally (among the agencies themselves).... Apart from [the Hungarian refugee crisis and World Refugee Year in 1959-60], there has been no effective, regular communication either between government and the voluntary sector generally, or among the major agencies and organizations involved in immigration. (Hawkins 1972:295)

The Field Service (formerly the Liaison Service) of the Citizenship Branch has made what efforts it could over the last several decades, within very modest budgetary means, to promote educational and other services for immigrants. This has merged increasingly in the last two decades into the promotion of effective multiculturalism policies.

The Canadian Citizenship Council

This organization, which existed from 1940 to 1968, had a noteworthy record in the field of citizenship education. It appears to have been a product of some malaise that was experienced in the early years of the Second World War, when there seemed to be difficultty in marshalling Canadian opinion in some quarters behind the war effort. The central purpose of the war, as seen by most Canadians, was to "defend democracy" against the forces of totalitarianism and nationalism run wild. There seemed to be an urgent need to inform Canadians concerning the essentials of democratic values, as a means of persuading them to get behind the war effort. The Ministers of Education of Ontario and New Brunswick, in the fall of 1940, invited representatives from the field of education to an "informal conference", and out of this was formed The Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship (in 1943 renamed the Canadian Citizenship Council). The thinking behind the formation of the new organization is revealed by the "Objects", as stated in the constitution:

a. To stimulate in the minds of all Canadians a greater appreciation of the meaning and implications of democracy as a way of life, to the end that they may better understand the issues involved in the present struggle, and thereby make their maximum contribution to the war effort of the nation.
b. To assist all Canadians in reaching an understanding of the problems which may arise from time to time relating to post-war reconstruction.
c. To act as a clearing house for the reception and allocation of problems and projects submitted by affiliated and associated bodies, thus integrating the work coming within the Council's field.

(Canadian Citizenship Council 1941:2)

The first stage of the Council's activities may be seen to fall between its formation and the year 1947 and to involve activities which were consistent with the reasons for its formation—through the war years and the period of reconstruction planning. For much of this period, it drew strong financial support from the Wartime Information Board, a government agency set up to stimulate support for the war effort (Young 1978). The Council's board and executive committee were made up of "blue ribbon" names—provincial Ministers of Education, senior university officials and the like. A bulletin issued by the Council at the time of its demise in 1968 suggested that in this early period the organization was a "non-voluntary voluntary organization", the raison d'etre of which was in the main to "respond to government needs" (Canadian Citizenship Council Bulletin, Aug. 1968). The Bulletin continued:

> It [CCC] fulfilled three major criteria in the re-inforcement of our democratic political system. It aided and abetted the distribution of power through opening up opportunities for the individual to share in it (through initiating new organizations, conferences, etc.). It enabled the ordinary citizen to understand better the processes of democracy (by publications, educational efforts of many kinds). It provided a mechanism for the continual promotion of social change (through pilot projects, political action and persuasion, advocacy of new concepts, etc.). (Canadian Citizenship Council Bulletin, Aug. 1968)

In its first Annual Report (1941), the Council stated that four organizations were "actively co-operating" in its work: the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian National Federation of Home and School, and the Canadian Red Cross Society.

The organization was maintained largely on the basis of a grant from the Wartime Information Board, and project funds from both that Board and other agencies. Its activities during this early period included: the publication of a regular newsletter containing resource material on citizenship matters; the publication and wide circulation of a nine pamphlet series on "The Democratic Way"; advice to government agencies such as the CBC and the NFB on citizenship matters; publication of "Charters of Our Freedom", by R.E. Trotter, and "Pocketful of Canada", edited by John Robbins, a source book; arranged a series of talks delivered on the CBC and a course of lectures widely used in the Armed Forces;

prepared model lessons and outlines for celebrations of patriotic occasions, for use in the schools; and lobbied the federal government on a range of citizenship matters.

At the end of the war, the Council fell on difficult times. The Wartime Information Board was disbanded, and with it went the basic financial support of the Council. Things were held together by a handful of people in Ottawa, led by John Robbins, then of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (McLeish 1978), with the assistance of a grant from the Carnegie Foundation. The fortunes of the organization were eventually revived, however, when sponsorship (or at least basic financial support) was picked up by the newly-created Citizenship Branch. With the employment of John Kidd as the full-time Secretary (Director) late in 1947, the Council was revived and enabled to proceed with an active program. (John Kidd was followed in 1960 by Alan Clarke, and subsequently by Arthur Stinson, both nationally known figures in adult education and community work.)

There was a remarkable increase in the admission of immigrants in the decade following the end of the war and one of the Council's priorities was the stimulation of services for the new arrivals. The Council was able to employ further full- time staff, including experts on language and citizenship training, and on the adjustment problems of immigrants. It carried out assignments in Europe concerning refugees and "Displaced Persons" and was active in communicating the knowledge and insights gained to both senior levels of government back in Canada.

The Council functioned within the same framework for the ensuing two decades, working in close co-operation with the Citizenship Branch of the government in many of its projects, and keeping in close touch with other national bodies interested in citizenship and educational matters. It was part of the close network of information and influence at the center of the country and had some connection with many significant developments in its field of operations. Its activities in this period included: active leadership in the training of second language teachers and developing (or assisting others to develop) teaching materials for that field; the training of language teachers for the Armed Forces; advising Canadian textbook publishers, the NFB and commercial film producers on citizenship matters; persuading community service co-ordinating agencies and major national voluntary and professional organizations to give appropriate attention to the needs of newcomers and the representations of ethnic organizations; holding conferences under its own sponsorship, or jointly with other organizations, on citizenship matters; encouraging the federal authorities in such matters as the establishment of an inter-departmental committee on citizenship and the declaration of Citizenship Day, publication of a wide range of pamphlets, newsletters and leaflets on immigration and citizenship matters; co-published and distributed on a very wide scale the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights; published "Kits on Canada" for use by immigration and refugee officers overseas; assisted various educational institutions in the establishment of new courses and

programs on Canadian subjects; and as the level of concern about the promotion and protection of "Canadian identity" increased, published a variety of materials—book lists, course outlines, etc.—on Canadian subjects. The foregoing is but a general summary of some of the main activities.

Most informed observers would agree that during these decades, particularly until the early 1960s, the Council did a great deal of effective work, especially given the fact of its slender resources. It should be added that whereas the organization, in its early stages, had strong links with provincial educational authorities and the Canadian Education Association, these connections became less effective in the post-war period. The organization became more centered on federal policies and reliant on federal government support. The Council's affairs came to be managed by a small group of interested Board members, in consultation with the professional staff. Because the Council looked more and more to the federal government for grants and contracts, it became increasingly project oriented.

This situation made the Council very vulnerable to changes of policy on the part of the federal authorities. Although the Council attempted to be a sort of clearing house, or at least center of information about the citizenship activities of government and voluntary agencies, it never was able to attain acknowledged leadership in these areas. When she conducted her in-depth study of immigration and citizenship matters several years after the Council was disbanded, Freda Hawkins (1972) was of the view that whereas in the United States and Australia, strong national forums and co-ordinating agencies had been created, this was not the case in Canada. She concluded:

> There has been no effective regular communications either between the government and the voluntary sector generally, or among the major agencies and organizations involved in immigration, in the whole period since the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created in 1950 and in the lifetime of the federal Citizenship Branch so far. (Hawkins 1972:295)

It should of course be pointed out that the foregoing situation was not necessarily a result of a lack of successful activity on the part of the Citizenship Council. As is clear from the Hawkins study, the responsibility lay largely with government policy, and to some extent with the national political "climate" in Canada, which in many respects was more decentralized in character than was the case in Australia or the United States.

In a remarkable statement which was prepared in 1968 for the guidance of the Board of the Citizenship Council in considering its future, serious questions were raised about its effectiveness; its "over-dependence" on government was stressed, as was the fact that the staff had "too great an influence on the status and influence of the Council" (C.C.C. Bulletin Aug. 1968). Hawkins pronounced this judgment on the Council:

> The dying of the Canadian Citizenship Council was historically significant for immigration, as the Council had been very active in stimulating voluntary efforts for

> immigrants in the first decade after the war and had worked closely with the Citizenship Branch. But after this time, its influence as a national organization steadily declined and the once-privileged position it had held in relation to senior levels of government was lost and never recovered. (Hawkins 1972:314)

It should be pointed out that such a judgment, even if sound, was a judgment made predominantly from the point of view of immigration matters. A more favorable interpretation would be justified in reference to its work in the broader field of citizenship, though as has been indicated, there was a tendency for the Council's effectiveness to decrease as the sixties progressed. This may have had something to do with the fact that increasingly in the sixties, the traditional ideas of "citizenship" were giving way to newer ideas of "participatory democracy", and the Council was not able to move with the times. The Canadian Citizenship Council decided to disband at its meeting in the fall of 1968.

Frontier College

One of the best known institutions in the story of adult education in Canada is Frontier College. Although this brief account of its work is placed here in a section having to do with the education of immigrants, this could be misleading. For much of its history, Frontier College's chief activity consisted of the placement of "worker-teachers" in isolated communities or work camps on the Canadian frontier, working among what one well-known study has called the "bunkhouse men" (Bradwin 1928). The vast majority of those in the camps were relatively recent immigrants, whether (to use Bradwin's report of the terminology of the day) they were "white men" or "foreigners". Whether immigrants or otherwise, they tended to be men of little formal education, and in many cases, with little knowledge of English.

Frontier College, which has the longest continuous history of any adult education organization in Canada, was founded in 1899 by a Presbyterian minister, Alfred Fitzpatrick. He had come under the influence of the "Social Gospel" point of view of the Principal of Queen's University, William M. Grant, and after a period of working within the church (among loggers, both in the United States and Canada), he decided that he needed to broaden the basis of his work, if he was to be of truly effective use to such men. He left the ministry, "to devote his whole life to the men in the camps" (Cook 1987:37). Fitzpatrick felt that Canadian society was guilty of "the crime of the desertion and demoralization of the frontiersman"(p.35), and he made it his life's work to seek the social and educational betterment of the campmen's lives. For many decades—a product of the vast distances and economic patterns within Canada which have been described in an ealier chapter—there were many small camps on the Canadian frontier, where men were gathered to work in mining, lumbering, railway and road construction. Cook states that in 1918, "more than 3,700" such camps existed in Canada, containing 200,000 to 250,000 men (p.37). In the non-supervisory

positions, up to 90 per cent of the workers were foreign-born. Cook provides this picture of the educational level of these workers, at least in the early decades of the work:

> The prospects of ignorant and unschooled men acquiring skills were slim. Their vocabulary seldom exceeded 400 words. In Fitzpatrick's experience, 30 per cent were entirely illiterate, 50 per cent did not know the multiplication tables, and 75 per cent could not calculate their time or whether they had been fairly paid by their employers. Command of English was certainly not a prerequisite for the job, but the "foreigners" were imprisoned by their ignorance. (Cook 1987:38)

For the first few years of Fitzpatrick's efforts (the organization was until 1919 called the Canadian Reading Camps Association), his work was what has been termed "passive", in that it was devoted to establishing reading rooms (Morrison 1989). Then in 1902, the idea of the worker-teacher was implemented. This involved the recruitment of young men—mostly university students during their summer break—for whom a job was arranged with the employer who maintained the camp. The teacher worked a normal shift alongside the other men (a fact which was seen to be very important in terms of establishing a relationship with fellow workers) and then in the evenings or any other time-off periods, the Frontier College teacher conducted educational and social activities for any of his fellows who wished to, or could be persuaded to take part. This worker- teacher arrangement was the heart of Frontier College's approach, and as Cook comments, "Few realize that this method is a Canadian creation" (Cook 1987:35).

Fitzpatrick's ambitions for the men in the camps and the organization which he created to serve them were grandiose. His account of the early years of the work, *The University in Overalls*, which was published in 1920 (Fitzpatrick 1920), was a passionate appeal to educational authorities in the country—and to the Canadian public in general—for "justice" for the campmen. He foresaw the time when some of the men could attain university level in their educational attainments and for approximately a decade, beginning in the early 1920s, he acquired a Dominion Charter which empowered the college to grant degrees. By 1931, however, the provincial governments, on whose financial support the College relied to a large extent, objected to such a role by the federal government in the field of education and made the relinquishing of the Dominion Charter (and with it, the degree granting powers) a condition of their continued support.

Thereafter, for some decades, the laborer-teacher was the central focus of the College's work. Frontier College did not ever become a very large organization. The number of jobs in the camps which could be arranged was limited, as were the number of university students who wished to do this kind of work (though the number of applicants consistently greatly outnumbered the positions available) (Morrison 1972). A small office was maintained in Toronto, from which recruitment on the university campuses was arranged as well as jobs with employers. A brief training or orientation was provided for the young men who

were recruited, and as the organization developed in subsequent decades, regional supervisors were employed for certain periods, to assist with program and staff development. Advisory committees were maintained at times for assistance with curriculum and program development.

The number of worker-teachers grew gradually in the early years, reaching 79 by 1913. During the Depression of the 1930s, the federal Department of National Defence established a network of work camps across Canada for unemployed single men (Thompson & Seager 1985). Frontier College was asked to provide instructors for the camps and by 1937, the College had 208 teachers in the field. In the post-war period, the numbers did not reach that level again, there being 100 in 1954, and 72 in 1967. In the latter year, the records indicate that half the teachers were in railway work and the rest divided equally between logging and mining operations (Morrison 1989).

Frontier College was not well known until the 1960s. In that decade, Canadian society began to wake up to the extent of illiteracy and under-education in this country. The vastly enlarged manpower training programs made possible by the federal Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1960 revealed the fact that many of the persons who were most in need of the training did not have a sufficient level of basic education to enable them to take advantage of the training programs. To this revelation was added the picture provided by the 1961 census, which indicated the low level of educational attainment of a significant proportion of the Canadian population. The "War on Poverty" federal policy of the second half of the decade gave further emphasis to such concerns. Canadian society, which was accustomed to thinking of illiteracy and under-education as largely a Third World concern, was awakened to the fact that approximately one-third of the Canadian population had not attained a level of functional literacy judged to be adequate to cope with a rapidly changing society. As the educational authorities in Canada began to take up the task of adult literacy and adult basic education in the 1960s, it was "discovered" that a little-known Canadian organization—Frontier College—had a long history in this work, and College personnel played a key role in early training activities for the expanding number of educators in that field.

Changing conditions in Canadian society began to have their impact on the College's activities by the late 1960s. The College began to employ increased numbers of persons on a year-round basis to do work under contract with various bodies. There was a headquarters staff of eight by the early 1970s. Individuals and couples were also employed to undertake community development projects, under contracts with provincial governments. In the early seventies, the College arranged contracts under which teams of field workers could be placed in areas where, because of unemployment, the placement of field workers would not otherwise be possible. In some instances contracts were arranged under which the

College provided adult basic education for programs on a full-time student basis (Morrison 1972). Projects were undertaken in the North, such as an ABE program which was begun in Frobisher Bay in 1967, which led to the establishment of a permanent basic education center there. (Morrison 1972). Another example of such work was the involvement of the College in assisting the Farmworkers' Union in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia to establish and operate an English as a second language program for their members. The College also assisted with a basic education and job search project for ex-inmates in Manitoba (beginning in 1975) and Kingston (beginning in 1980).

In the early 1980s, the Board of Governors of Frontier College decided on a basic re-orientation of its work. The opportunities for placing workers in the traditional sort of camp setting had become much reduced as a result of both economic recession and changing settlement patterns. In his Annual Report for 1982, the President, Jack Pearpoint, referred to "the virtual demise of the traditional 'laborer-teacher'". It was decided to give up such activity, in the main, and to direct the energies of the College to those in need of basic education and life skills education in the downtown core of the large cities, as well as other special projects of the kind mentioned in the previous paragraph. The College moved in a concerted fashion into adult basic education activity. In 1983, the College produced a battery of new teaching materials for literacy teaching—the "SCIL Program" (Student Centered Individualized Learning) and since that time, the College has been increasingly active and well known in the literacy and basic education fields. In 1984, 737 students were served in a sustained way in the previous year and that 3,133 participants had taken part in training sessions related to the newly-published teaching materials. Several of the College's projects have been developed in association with organized labor, Native people's organizations and several different special needs groups. A program named "Beat The Street", which provided literacy education for "street kids" began in 1985, an outgrowth of earlier work with ex-prison inmates. In 1986 the SCIL materials were used in training programs with Laubach Canada instructors in Ontario and with literacy workers in St. Kitts in the Caribbean.

In the meantime, the placement of laborer-teachers, though reduced in scale, has continued. A newsletter published in the spring of 1985 indicated that eleven such placements had been made for the summer of that year, all in "railgangs" across Canada.

Frontier College has become increasingly well known, both in Canada and abroad, in recent years. It has already been mentioned in Chapter 2 that in 1977, the College received an award from UNESCO for its work in adult education and literacy. Much has been done in recent years to engage well known public figures in the effort to raise funds, and raise the profile of the College's work. At the international "Education For All" conference held in Bangkok in 1990, which was

sponsored by several of the largest international aid agencies (private and inter-governmental), Frontier College was selected as one of the projects to be highlighted.

Frontier College has come a long way from its founding in 1899 as the Reading Camps Association. It has consistently worked on behalf of "forgotten" and disadvantaged persons in Canadian society and has earned a place as one of the most innovative and significant adult education projects in the history of the field in Canada. Though most of its work has not been directly in the field of citizenship education, much of it has been with recent immigrants and generally, it has been directed towards making it possible for the people with whom it worked to play a more effective part in Canadian society.

Ethnic Groups and Multiculturalism

In the previous section, attention has been given in the main to programs and services which were directed to the immigrant as an individual, assisting with the person's adjustment to his or her new setting in Canadian society. In the present section, the focus will be rather on ethnic groups, the relations between and among such groups, and the official policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism as they emerged in recent decades.

Some information has been provided already about the high rate of immigration which existed from the late 1870s until the mid-eighties, and from just after the turn of the century until the outbreak of the World War (Brown & Cook 1974; Hawkins 1972). As historians of the early years of this century have stated, in this period:

> Another two million more new Canadians added a new ethnic dimension to Canadian life. They were too numerous to be rapidly absorbed into a Canadian melting pot. And since almost one-third of them came from outside the English-speaking world, or the French-speaking for that matter, they did not simply reinforce old Canada. Indeed, they often challenged it. (Brown & Cook 1974:1)

Four representative studies related to this new situation in Canada will be mentioned here. Each sheds some light on the attitudes of the day and provides some information about educational responses.

The first is one already cited, J.T.M. Anderson's *The Education of the New Canadian*, which was published in 1918. The subtitle of Anderson's book was "A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem" and it was essentially about what he termed "the great national task of assimilating the thousands who have come to settle in Canada from various lands across the seas" (Anderson 1918:7). His aim appeared to be to alert Canadians to the urgent educational challenge which had to be met if all these immigrants were truly to become Canadians. Unlike present day thinking, Anderson was willing to concede that middle-aged and older immigrants would "never become true Canadian citizens" (p.8), but he

called upon Canadian society to make every effort, by means of language and citizenship education, to "assimilate" those who were younger. He devoted most of his attention to the regular school program, but he included a chapter on "Night Schools" as well. The first section of his book described the main ethnic groups among the immigrant population (Scandinavians, Slavs, Mennonites, and "others") and the second section dealt with "Education: The Problem and its Solution". In the case of night schools, the focus was on adult basic education, citizenship education, and English language training. He proclaimed, in the language of the period, "There should be a night school in every illiterate foreign community throughout Canada...." (Anderson 1918:181). He called as well for an effective link between the school and the home.

Secondly, it is instructive to examine two volumes written by Robert England in the inter-war period, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (1929) and *The Colonization of Western Canada* (1936). By the time he wrote these volumes, England had taught school for three years in a rural, "non-English" community and had subsequently been involved in supervising immigration activities abroad and "settlement work" in the ethnic communities in Canada on behalf of the Canadian National Railway. The earlier of these books is a study of what the book jacket terms "Canada's most pressing problem, Canadianization". It is based on the experiences of some fifty school teachers who were employed in the early twenties under a special scheme in Saskatchewan "on the understanding that they would teach for at least one year in the more backward non-English speaking districts" (England 1929:vii). Out of the experiences of such teachers, and that of himself and his wife, England provides a picture of the ethnic "blocs" of settlement in Saskatchewan and examines the practices which seemed to have worked in promoting individual development, tolerance and openness to an integration into the Canadian mainstream. He promotes seeing the rural school as a community centre, one which can relate to (and call upon) the resources of the community for the benefit of both individual and community life. He calls, in colorful language, for enlightened attitudes on the part of all Canadians "and an educational machine which is an effective, purposive dynamic committed to the mighty task of binding us all more closely" (England 1929:188). One can see a farsighted foreshadowing of the community development, community education and community school movements, which were to appear in subsequent decades.

In his later book, England broadened the picture to include the three Prairie provinces. He presented a detailed picture of the ethnic and settlement patterns in the three provinces resulting from "the colonization of Western Canada", as he termed it (England 1936:7). The heart of the book consisted of an account of a program under the auspices of the Canadian National Railway of "community competititons" among communities "having a resident population showing 70 per cent of Continental European origin, first or second generation" (p.168). The approach was an educational or community development one, which encouraged

educational and other forms of participation in the community, the judging to be made only at the conclusion of a period of developmental activities. A scoring system was applied which gave similar weight to three areas—education, agricultural development, and a third area entitled citizenship, co-operation and social welfare—and fewer points to a fourth area, arts, handicraft and domestic economy. Considerable stress was laid on co-operation within the communities, as well as a general comparison between communities. Over the several years in the early 1930s during which this project was operated, the number of communites involved were 15 in Manitoba, 31 in Saskatchewan and 16 in Alberta. The total "European population" of these communities was 149,612, and the total number of farms included was 36,393. One of the chief objectives of the scheme was to encourage the communities to make effective use of the services available from provincial authorities, particularly departments of agriculture and education, and representatives of these departments were engaged in developmental activities during the competition and in the judging. There was prize money awarded to the winners, which was used (at their discretion) to improve community educational, recreational, social, agricultural and health-related activities. There was a great deal of stress placed on economic development in the project—and in England's account of it—and on the "Canadianization" of the communities and individuals concerned. The work was approached very much in a developmental mode. As in the case of the work described in England's earlier book, there is evidence here of community education and community development and local economic development approaches which foreshadowed thinking and activity to follow in subsequent decades.

The fourth book to be mentioned is *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*, by John M. Gibbon, which was published in 1938. Gibbon was an expert on folklore and folk songs, but in this case his aim was, essentially, to encourage Canadians to "examine the progress being made in the amalgamation of their own and other racial groups in the new democracy of the Dominion" (Gibbon 1938:v). The book contains a series of decriptions of the major ethnic groups represented in the Canadian population at the time, with some historical notes on the countries of origin, a description of their history since coming to Canada, and varying degrees of information about the group's culture and potential contributions to Canada. The author gives considerable attention to the concept of a Canadian "mosaic", attributing the term, with reference to Canada, to a book by an American, Victoria Howard, published in 1922 (Gibbon 1938:ix). He described Canada as a society made up of various racial groups (he was considering only groups of European origin), "the members of which are only beginning to get acquainted with each other, and have not yet blended into one type". He suggests that perhaps in two hundred years, Canadians may be "fused together and standardized" (p.vii). He points out that some "politicians" wished to rush assimilation, as was the policy in the United States. "Others believe in

trying to preserve for the future Canadian race the most worthwhile qualities and traditions that each racial group has brought with it" (p.vii). In a final chapter the author turns his attention to "Cement for the Canadian Mosaic", considering the influences—historical, constitutional, organizational, religious, cultural and educational—which had in the past and would in the future bind the Canadian mosaic together. He asserted that the "finest and strongest cement" was the training provided in the schools (Gibbon 1938:425).

These are but four of many works published in the period between the Wars which dealt, in different ways, with the multi-ethnic character of Canadian society, and reflecting perhaps something of the diversity of views of the time, from a concentration on finding a way to promote the assimilation of those from other cultures, to the recognition of the enduring virtues of a Canadian cultural mosaic.

Especially in the years following the Second World War, *Food for Thought*, the journal published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) devoted considerable attention to the multicultural nature of the country. The January 1948 issue was entirely devoted to "Citizenship in Canada", a response, perhaps, to the passage of the Citizenship Act the previous year. Emphasis was placed on the educational needs of immigrants and the educational activities of the Citizenship Branch of government and the Canadian Citizenship Council. In March of the same year, *Food For Thought* carried an announcement that the Joint Planning Commission (see the next chapter) and the CAAE's counterpart French language organization, the ICEA, had established a joint Committee on Intercultural Relations. The aims were to promote communication among agencies and organizations "interested in fostering satisfactory group relations" and to take steps which would help to "reduce group tensions and overcome racial discrimination, religious intolerance, and animosities based on geographical distance" (For Unity 1948:5). Except for the Camp Laquemac project, which is described later, the CAAE and its sister organization were not very successful in their joint endeavours, and it is not known what activities, if any, flowed from this beginning. In October of 1949, the issue of *Food For Thought* was devoted to "Group Relations in Canada". Emphasis was placed on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which had been passed by the United Nations the previous year, and on a series of descriptions of programs which were operating in Canada devoted to improving intercultural relations. This latter section included the following items: Visites Interprovinciales, Laquemac, Outrement Schools, "The Springfield Plan", Brotherhood Week, Newsmen Combat Discrimination, Organized Labor Fights Intolerance, Negroes in Nova Scotia, Sir George Williams College, Canadian Folk Society, Native Indian Affairs, and The Co-operative Committee of Japanese Canadians (p.17-30,43). Some detail on the work of the last-named organization was carried in the journal in December of 1951 (Democracy at Work 1951). Typical of some other articles carried by the journal was one

written by a leader of the Canadian Jewish Congress and appearing in late 1952 (Saalheimer 1952). It dealt with the importance of appropriate legislation as one aspect of a successful approach to reducing racial discrimination. The following issue, the first of 1953, was devoted to "Newcomers to Canada" and contained articles by a number of well known professional and academic leaders in Canada. This appears to have been the last special issue devoted to such matters, and the number of individual articles in this area fell off dramatically by the mid-fifties.

Camp Laquemac

It must be said that not surprisingly, the field of adult education in Canada has on the whole been no more successful in rising to the challenge of the relationship between the English and French speaking cultures within the society than has the nation as a whole. The most notable exception to this general picture is Camp Laquemac.

Officially called The School of Community Programs, Camp Laquemac was a bilingual annual program of some ten days duration which was run under the joint auspices of Macdonald College of McGill University and Laval University. The program was held at a site some 60 miles from Montreal, in the Laurentian Mountains and was a residential program, with a blend of meetings, study sessions, recreational and social time. An important distinctive feature was that the sessions operated on a bilingual basis, and efforts were made to recruit approximately equal numbers of students from the English and French speaking communities. The program was operated on a family camping basis, with accommodation for children provided as well. When Per and Carol Stensland attended in August of 1952, for instance, they reported there were 102 adults and 15 children in attendance. Seventy of the adults had come from Quebec (which did not, of course necessarily mean that their first language was French) 20 from elsewhere in Canada (mainly Ontario) and 12 from outside Canada (Stensland & Stensland 1952). In the following year, 36 French speaking and 51 English speaking adults attended, with 20 children (Davidson 1953).

The program at Laquemac did not focus on the bicultural nature of the group attending, but on such matters as adult education methods, the relationship of adult education to society, human relations training, community development processes, the nature of leadership, and sociological and cultural aspects of Canadian life. Typically, there were theory sessions in the mornings and skill sessions in the afternoons, with a great deal of opportunity for informal meetings and social occasions. There was considerable emphasis on participatory management of the program, an elected Camp Council playing a major role in the development of "community life" during the school.

Camp Laquemac grew out of a weekend school for local community leaders which was held in Quebec in 1941. Its origins lie in the early stages of the "awakening" of French Canadian society as it moved towards a more modern,

secular and professionalized approach to life (Morin & Potter 1953). Alex Sim, who was working at Macdonald College under a Carnegie grant, organized the first weekend program, which was attended by 165 persons. Week-long programs held in each of the following two years involved more intensive training and attracted fewer persons. In the second of these years, 1943, a two week "campus camp" was held as well—at Macdonald College—and this was the origin of what became the Camp Laquemac program. The four features of that program, which became the essential characteristics of Laquemac, were: the participation (in as close to equal numbers as reasonably possible) of French and English speaking persons; a focus on "community", in terms of a sociological approach to understanding the community; a "cross section" approach to the structure and content of the program, with plenary theory sessions in the morning and smaller, highly participatory groups in the afternoon which concentrated on group work skills; and a concentration on a highly educational approach to all content areas, with use of newer small group and human relations techniques. The length of the program varied somewhat in the early years, but settled on ten days—a week plus the weekends on either end. It began under Macdonald College auspices, but beginning in 1944, Laval University became involved as well. In the early years there was normally a comprehensive theme for the program, such as "The Small Group in the Community", "Problems of Communities in Wartime", "Transition to Peace", etc., but in subsequent years there was a tendency to take up various topics at each school. There was as well considerable emphasis in the program on popular culture (dancing, singing) and recreation. The staff of the school were of course arranged in advance and tended to come from the social science areas and from the ranks of practitioners in adult education, social work and recreation.

The use of both English and French was an important feature of the school. The general approach was to have a balance between the languages as far as the leaders/resource persons were concerned. Whenever presentations of significant length or importance were made, a summary in the other language was presented as well. In the less formal parts of the program, the matter was dealt with informally, and as required. A particular effort was made to facilitate interaction between the two language groups rather than allow the two groups to drift apart and function separately.

The program was generally not self-supporting out of fees paid by the participants. There was a conscious attempt to keep the fees as low as possible. In 1952, for instance, total revenues were $4,423.33, with $1,695 coming from the participants, a slightly larger amount from the government of Quebec, and $1,000 from the federal Department of Citizenship. Resource persons received a very modest honorarium, plus their room and board. Attendance figures varied, but according to statistics provided by R. Morin and H.H. Potter (1953) in their study of the project, there were 123 in 1943, 90 in 1946 and 105 in 1952.

The study of this program by Morin and Potter (1953), just referred to, was

commissioned by the CAAE for its series of pamphlets which documented Canadian programs in the field of adult education. In it the authors identified certain recurring problems experienced by Laquemac. The financial risks and insecurity from year to year were certainly among them. It was also stated that some participants, "some of the French Canadians in particular", found it difficult to adjust to the unhierarchical methodologies and leadership style. The leadership role of the elected Council was not always understood and accepted. The language difficulties varied from one person to another, but sometimes led to feelings of stress and tension.

Perhaps the first and last paragraphs of the "Conclusion" section of the published study of the program provides an appropriate summary of the goals and texture of Camp Laquemac:

> It seems apparent that Laquemac succeeds by and large in recruiting the type of persons for whom it was established; actual and potential community program leaders. Of recent years it has attracted the increasingly well-peopled staffs of agencies committed professionally to some form of adult education.
>
> This is merely to say that Laquemac provides a community experience for many people who today have no connection with a large close-knit family, or with a placid, homogeneous village, or with a stout-hearted, intimate group of colleagues. Perhaps this, as much as anything, describes the particular impact of Laquemac on the individual. (Morin & Potter 1953:45,47)

In a paper delivered at a conference in 1982, Alex Sim indicated that the project continued until 1958. Earlier, the project was recognized for its importance and innovative aspects, when it was awarded in 1949 the Henry Marshall Tory Award by the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

Reference has been made earlier to the fact that with the transfer of the Citizenship Branch of the federal government to the Secretary of State in 1945, and especially after the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was formed in 1950, that Branch was provided with increased resources and was able—in its own name and under contract with other organizations—to promote considerable educational activity aimed at more harmonious and tolerant relations among ethnic groups in Canada, and between such groups and the "mainstream". It is Freda Hawkins' view that such work was damaged by the increasing tendency in the sixties and subsequently to link immigration policy with the labor force needs of Canadian society. But writing in 1972, she was encouraged by the initiatives and what she termed "a revitalized program on citizenship" which had emerged beginning in 1970 (Hawkins 1972:365). She described the five policy objectives of this new activity: to encourage cultural diversification within a bilingual framework; to preserve human rights and fundamental freedoms; to increase and improve citizenship participation; and to develop meaningful symbols of Canadian sovereignty (Hawkins 1972:365). She referred to "dramatic changes" which were appearing within government with respect to its role in citizenship promotion and education.

The early seventies brought a significant re-orientation of government policy in this area. The sixties had been a period of fresh attempts to recognize the bilingual nature of the country. The centrepiece of that effort were the appointment, activites and reports of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, under co-chairmen Andre Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton. The centre of controversy from its very appointment, the Commission stated in its preliminary report in 1965 that the country, "without being fully conscious of the fact, [was] passing through the greatest crisis in its history" (Quoted in Bothwell, Drummond & English 1981:290). The Pearson government of the day began a process of the decentralization of power in the country, a policy issue which has not been far from the head of the Canadian political agenda ever since. Government promotion of a policy of bilingualism and second language training followed from the Commission reports.

Two of the ten members of the Royal Commission had been seen as representatives of ethnic groups other than French or British. As has already been mentioned, a somewhat unexpected by-product of the public hearings and the public discussion engendered by the Commission was an upsurge, especially in the West, of insistence on the fact that Canada must not be seen as a bicultural society, but as a multicultural one. Bernard Ostry has described this as a "reluctant discovery" arising from the work of the Commission (Ostry 1978:107).

In 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau made a major policy statement on the matter. He announced that multiculturalism was the avowed policy of the federal government, saying, "Cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity", and adding that although there were two official languages in Canada, "there is no official culture" (Cited in McLeod 1980:vii). There was to be equality of status among ethnic groups in the country. The Prime Minister mentioned four ways by means of which this policy would be implemented:

1. Assisting all Canadian cultural groups which wish to continue a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada.
2. Assisting members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation to Canadian society.
3. Promoting creative encounters and exchanges among groups in the interest of national unity.
4. Assisting immigrants to learn at least one of Canada's official languages.

(Johnstone in McLeod 1980:23)

This policy provided a basis on which federal activity along these lines was carried out by the Secretary of State's Department in subsequent years.

In 1988, the federal government further strengthened its mandate in these areas by the passage of An Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism Policy in Canada, which incorporated the Bill of Rights legislation of 1982 and provided a further basis for educational and other activity in support of a

multicultural policy. Under the Act, programs provide financial assistance to groups, institutions and individuals in three general areas: race relations and cross-cultural understanding; heritage cultures and languages; and community support and participation. The objectives of the Act are pursued by these means and through the other activities of the Multiculturalism Sector of the Department of the Secretary of State.

The "Canadian Mosaic" or multiculturalism policy in Canada was much discussed during the "Free Trade Debate" which tock place before and during the federal election campaign of 1988. The Canadian policy in this regard was constantly contrasted with the American policy of the social "melting pot". Strong support was expressed at that time by advocates of the Canadian policy such as Leslie Armour, who in his book, *The Idea of Canada* (1981), had stated at the beginning of the decade that "a specifically Canadian cultural pluralism exists" and expressed the conviction that, "Pluralism we have and shall have—or we shall have nothing" (Armour 1981:107). Such a multicultural policy has had strong critics in Canada as well. A well informed Canadian political writer has summed it up this way:

> White, male Anglos like Peter Worthington ripped into government grants for ethnic cookbooks and festivals. Quebec nationalists sniped at a policy they feared would undercut all their painstaking victories in bilingualism and biculturalism. And well known figures from ethnic communities argued they were being ghettoized. (Gray 1989:17-18)

It would appear at the time of writing, however, that while the multiculturalism policy may have its critics, it will continue to be the law of the land in Canada and will be the basis for an ever-increasing public education and participation program.

This chapter has comprised a review of some educational projects which have related to the needs and interests of recent immigrants to Canada, as well as programs which have had to do with the ethnic communities which make up the Canadian mosaic. In the following chapters, we will turn to aspects of the field which relate to citizenship in a more general way.

5

"The Imaginative Training for Citizenship": Citizenship Education for the General Public

In these three chapters, 4, 5 and 6, some rather elusive distinctions are being made. The preceding chapter dealt with education aimed at newcomers to Canada—immigrants and refugees—and educational projects which related particularly to matters of ethnic identity and multiculturalism. The present chapter deals with programs which are intended either to dispose the citizen to play a more active part in public affairs or to equip the person to do so. In the next chapter, attention will be focused on projects which have involved people in concerted efforts to bring about social change. It will be apparent at once that the various projects which have been allotted to one of the three categories do not necessarily fit only there. For instance, work among recent immigrants may be, and frequently is, aimed at producing social change. In the case of National Farm Radio Forum, which is included in the present chapter, it has been claimed by some that some of its most significant effects have not been what went on in the weekly listening groups, but rather what forum members subsequently accomplished in community betterment or community development activities (CAAE 1945). Enough has been said, perhaps, to indicate how tenuous some of the categories are on which these three chapters are based. There does, however, seem to be some validity to the distinctions being made, and it is hoped that they are helpful to the reader. The three categories are based to some extent on the objectives of those who created the programs, and on the perspective or purposes of the individuals who decided to take part in them.

The portion of the chapter title which is in quotation marks, "the imaginative training for citizenship", is taken from the well known 1946 Declaration of the conference of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) of that year (See Kidd 1963:109). Heading into the post-war period, the leaders of the CAAE,

who themselves were drawn from a wide variety of organizations, were seeking to establish a policy, or philosophical stance, which could serve as a basis for co-operation among the many organizations which were interested in the task of "national reconstruction" and nation building. The main goal of adult education was stated in the Declaration to be education for citizenship (See Kidd 1963:109-10). This position was both a reflection of the stage of development which Canadian adult education had reached at that time (the "idealistic" phase, as Cotton (1968) has termed it) and also part of the process through which the CAAE and its co-operating organizations were laying the groundwork for two significant post-war projects, Citizens' Forum and the Joint Planning Commission. The phrase, "imaginative training for citizenship", embraces the two main objectives of many of those involved in this work at the time, that of encouraging Canadians to play an active part as citizens of the democratic society to which they belonged and secondly, to build on the new sense of national pride with which Canada emerged from the Second World War. There was a widespread desire to create a "new", distinct Canadian society. As we shall see, this kind of citizenship education did not have its origins in the reconstruction period by any means, but several of the programs in this field for which Canada gained a considerable international reputation either flowered or were established at this time.

General Education and Democratic Society

In the first chapter it was pointed out that the maintenance of a liberal democratic society depends on the informed participation of its citizens. Further, as R.M. Dawson and W.F. Dawson have stated, democratic government also implies "a number of vitally important beliefs and traditions", among which they list: tolerance, freedom of discussion and criticism, freedom of religious beliefs, respect for law, regard for the wishes of the majority and the minority, and the assurance of the basic rights and privileges of all citizens (Dawson & Dawson 1989:4). It is one of the most consistent goals of our educational systems for children in Canada that such values be inculcated in our young people, and these values are stressed as well in the programs which are offered to adults who are seeking Canadian citizenship.

There has as well been a long tradition in the Western democracies of belief in the importance of liberal education as preparation for citizenship. A liberal or general education background has been supported for many reasons, but perhaps most consistently because of the belief that it prepares the individual for effective functioning as a citizen in a democratic society. It is believed to promote in the individual the values, knowledge and skills required of democratic citizenship—powers of thought, rationality and critical thinking; a concept of the values of democratic society; a capacity for expressing and evaluating ideas; a capacity "to understand one's own interests and how...to affect decisions" (Strike 1982:12;

McLeod 1989). R.J. Van Loon and M.S. Whittington have elaborated an aspect of this by pointing out that society seeks to promote—through education and in other ways—three different dimensions of political attitudes: the cognitive (knowledge, beliefs, information); the affective (feelings, preferences); and the evaluative (values, judgments) (Van Loon & Whittington 1987:123-24).

There is a sense, therefore, in which general education for children and youth—and also for adults—is seen to have a meaningful relationship with, or to serve as a foundation for, the person's role as a citizen. From this point of view, the increased availability in recent decades of opportunities for adults to return to formal education, at the elementary, secondary or post-secondary levels, has had significance not only in personal and vocational terms, but also in relation to the individual's capacity to function as a citizen.

There is a particular aspect of general education for adults which has received special attention in recent decades, the matter of literacy and literacy education for adults. Canadians and their governments used to think of illiteracy as a problem which affected others—especially Third World countries—but not ourselves. Since approximately 1960, however, there has been a growing realization of the extent of illiteracy and "under-education" in our own society and programs of adult basic education (grade school up to grade 12 completion) and literacy education have been put in place on an increasing, but still woefully inadequate scale (Brooke 1972; Taylor and Draper 1989). The case which is made for the importance of combatting illiteracy rests on three main arguments: the vocational-economic, the personal-humanistic, and the citizenship-political. With respect to the last of these, it is pointed out that one cannot carry out one's responsibilities as a citizen in contemporary society if one is illiterate, and that the rights of citizenship have little meaning if the ability to exercise those rights effectively is not present. This case is extended and applied to higher levels of adult basic education as well, which in most Canadian jurisdictions extends to high school completion for adults.

While the author recognizes the importance with respect to functioning as a citizen of both general or liberal education on the one hand and adult basic or literacy education on the other, there will be no attempt here to trace the development of education in those areas. That has already been done adequately elsewhere (Brooke 1972; Taylor and Draper 1989; Wilson, Stamp & Audet 1970). Rather, the focus of this volume is a narrower one, on education more consciously related to citizenship concerns.

Voluntary Organizations and Citizenship Education

There is a close relationship between voluntary organizations, adult learning and citizenship. A recent study by P. Ilsley (1989) has attempted to analyze the large number of such organizations and to describe them particularly in terms of the

type, content and method of learning which the volunteers typically experience in such groups. He identifies four kinds of groups, what he terms: institution-directed (committed to the welfare of the institution); volunteer group-directed (committed to the organization itself); problem-directed (committed to the mission of the organization); and social change-directed (committed to certain social ideals and a particular vison of the future) (p.106). This is but one of many typologies of voluntary groups, but is useful in the present context, which is concerned with the role of learning in voluntary action.

It is clear that quite apart from the "services" rendered by many such groups, participation in voluntary organizations provides opportunities for learning about public issues and acquiring skills, knowledge and practical experience of relevance to the role of functioning as a citizen. The first of these might be termed organizational or leadership skills. The members, and especially leaders in voluntary organizations gain experience in such areas as seeking members or adherents, organizing to carry out required tasks, maintaining contacts with and support of members, and other skills which are involved in this type of group or organizational activity. Many a leader of voluntary and community groups has begun to develop group work skills and to gain confidence in their capacity to engage in such activity through participating in small, "local" organizations such as church groups, local parent-teacher organizations or neighbourhood clubs or associations.

The second area of learning within the voluntary sector which is important from the point of view of citizenship might be termed learning about "content". This includes gaining knowledge and insight into particular areas of public concern. The range of subject matter involved here is of course enormous, some examples being: the welfare and position in society of Native or First Nations people; public transportation services; conditions governing the availability of abortion, or affecting child welfare; taxation policy as it affects small business; the nature of Canadian foreign policy; or Canadian policy concerning the granting of refugee status. In addition to gaining knowledge about such specific aspects of social or public policy, volunteers frequently gain deeper convictions about the values which are at work in our society, and how they are applied.

The third area of learning applies differently from one situation to another. It has to do with how the processes of social and political change work and how it is possible to have impact on the direction of change. It is in this area that we see the most marked transition, as described in the first chapter, between the more traditional social action groups and the New Social Movements. The former tended to act on the basis of preparing carefully documented briefs and making reasoned representations to government or other decision makers. The newer movements frequently argue their case rationally too, but tend to be more willing to act in an adversarial, confrontational way when that is judged to be strategically useful. Such occurences as peace marches, barriers thrown across roads or

railways, positioning small boats in the path of whaling ships or nuclear-powered vessels, people chaining themselves to, or picketing the premises of abortion clinics, have become common occurences in this more confrontational, media-oriented style of citizen action. The point being made, however, is that through involvement in voluntary social action groups, the participant gains knowledge and experience concerning how change can be most effectively brought about.

There are, of course, areas of voluntary action which are more closely attuned than others to social action and social change. In his history of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, F.W. Peers (1969) makes reference to several organizations which he saw being concerned with promoting good citizenship. He included the Federated Women's Institutes, the Canadian Federation of University Women, the Canadian Citizenship Council, the Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire, the National Council of Women, the YWCA, and the United Church of Canada's Commission on Culture. The same is true of a number of the New Social Movements, such as those concerned with environmental matters, peace and disarmament and the rights of disadvantaged groups. This is not to say that their activities are more important than those of other, more service oriented volunteer groups, but only to point out the nature of their work. As two examples of the work of voluntary organizations in relation to citizenship matters, a brief description follows of activities of the Women's Institutes organization and the United Nations Association in Canada.

The Federated Women's Institutes of Canada

The first Women's Institute in the world was formed in Stoney Creek, Ontario, early in 1897 as a result of suggestions made by Adelaide Hoodless. She had spoken up at a Farmers' Institute meeting to the effect that if the men present were so concerned about the welfare of farm animals, how was it that so little attention was paid to the study of the welfare of children and farm homes (Chapman in Rouillard 1954). Hoodless herself had suffered the tragic death of her baby when it was 18 months old, as a result of the child drinking unpasteurized milk. Hoodless felt that she might have been able to save the child's life if she had known more about matters related to child welfare and public health. She suggested the formation of a women's organization which would be devoted to this and realted matters. The constitution of this first Institute stated:

> The object of this Institute shall be to promote that knowledge of household science which shall lead to the improvement of household architecture with special attention to home sanitation, to a better understanding of economics and hygienic value of foods and fuels, and to a more scientific care of children with a view to raising the general standard of health of our people. (Quoted in Witter 1979:18)

From this beginning in 1897, the Women's Institute idea spread rapidly. By 1903 there were 12 in Ontario, and the movement had been established in most provinces by the outbreak of the war in 1914. In most, if not all provinces, close

links were established between the Women's Institutes and the provincial Departments of Agriculture, following the pattern which had been established in the case of the Farmers' Institute movement. These departments of government provided the Women's Institutes with a variety of kinds of support, including a modest amount of funding and various kinds of assistance with their educational activities. The Women's Institutes subsequently became a worldwide movement—the Associated Country Women of the World.

The Canadian movement developed most strongly in Ontario in its early decades. By 1904, seven full time organizers were employed by the Department of Agriculture to assist with the organization and activities of the Institutes in that province. Requests from the Institutes for the provision of short courses in such subjects as cooking, sewing, home nursing, nutrition and handicrafts were supported. The work grew rapidly in Ontario (as elsewhere), short course activity in the two year period 1913 to 1915 encompassing seven three-month courses, 34 one-month courses, 75 two-week courses, three one-week courses and 77 three-day courses—in total serving 5,248 women students (Sandiford 1935: ch. 10, p.43). Similar activity was begun in other provinces as well in the early years of the century. Home study guides on several relevant subjects were developed as well and used in several provinces.

Advocacy activity to public authorities also became an important part of the work of the Institutes. From the early years of the movement, support was expressed consistently for the creation of programs in home economics at public universities. S.R. Witter (1979) provides some detailed information about this activity, especially in the period of the Great Depression. She points out that individual Institutes undertook study of the Old Age Pension Act, the Mother's Allowance Act, the Minimum Wage Act for Women and Girls and the Devolution of the Estate Act. Recommendations to governments about the provisions of these and other acts were subsequently made. During the thirties and forties, the Institutes gave a great deal of attention to public health matters, carrying out educational work about the use of vaccines and serums. Witter has pointed out that the approach which the Institutes took to educational matters was in many instances based on the community development model. She states that the Women's Institutes organization "was one of the first adult education movements to practice the concept of community development, which occurred when geographical neighbours worked together to serve their concept of the good of the community" (Witter 1979:37; see also Dennison 1987).

The Institutes also moved strongly into study group activity. The first group of this kind under Institute sponsorship began in 1935, and the work expanded rapidly from that point on, especially in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. By 1945, 83 Institutes were also participating in Farm Radio or Citizens' Forum.

Following the Second World War, the Women's Institute movement continued to grow in Canada, particularly in the North. Assisted by educational materials prepared by the national body, the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada, or shared among the provinces, local groups undertook study of such matters as conservation and environmental concerns, maternal and infant mortality, laws affecting women, campaigns to have women named to the Senate, abolition of salacious literature, and services for immigrants. In many of these areas, the Institute movement followed up their study with strong advocacy activity. Witter's study of the educational activities of the Institutes reveals that by the seventies, at least some of the local and provincial bodies were taking up causes which had been identified by the women's movement, such as the changing role of women in society, and women and economic development. In addition, the familiar themes of family life, life style, nutrition and health matters continued to be the focus of much educational work.

In the area of social action or advocacy, the Women's Institute movement in Canada has been particularly active in recent decades. A number of Institutes were active in seeking implementation of recommendations in the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, especially on those issues which related particularly to the welfare of rural women. Some of the provincial organizations have organized courses on advocacy techniques for their members. Witter has pointed out that the Women's Institute movement has, over the decades, greatly expanded its range of concerns in the fields of education and advocacy:

> When one considers that concerns in the early years centred around such things as food preservation and then look at today's issues such as, matrimonial property rights for women, women and the Canadian Pension Plan, maternity rights, one can see that the Women's Institutes are now trying to educate women on broader social issues that will improve the status of women in Canada. (Witter 1979:59)

In recent years, revisionist historians have focused on the Women's Institutes and have raised questions concerning the degree of seriousness which can be attached to their efforts to advocate social change. It is contended by some that the Institutes' close ties with Departments of Agriculture have had the effect of discouraging the Institute movement from becoming more active or aggressive advocates of social change, and further that government has been willing to support the Institutes in order, at least in part, to limit their advocacy role (Dennison 1987). There may be some validity to this point of view. Certainly it raises some useful questions, ones which relate as well to many other voluntary organizations in our society. As is clear from the foregoing brief description of the educational and advocacy activities of the Women's Institute movement in Canada, however, the organization has devoted considerable attention to public and institutional policies as they affect particularly the welfare of children, women and family life.

United Nations Association in Canada

The United Nations Association in Canada (UNAC) has three main goals: to provide information to the Canadian public about the goals and activities of the United Nations and its family of specialized agencies; to persuade Canadians and their governments to support the activites of the United Nations; and generally to promote the aims of the United Nations system, including such matters as the peaceful resolution of international disputes and the promotion of the welfare of the Third, or less developed World.

A review of the history of UNAC since its formation in 1945 reveals a somewhat typical history of such bodies—cycles of growth and contraction, spurts of new activity in certain periods as new leadership takes charge, responses to the acquisition of additional funding and corresponding problems when such funding disappears, and in the case of this particular organization, responses to the "successes" and "failures" of the United Nations itself in world affairs (See Archer 1985).

The latter half of the 1940s was a period of promotion and consolidation for the new organization. From 3,000 members in 18 local branches in 1946, the organization grew to 27 branches with approximately 5,000 members within two years. With the support of key figures in the Canadian government, the Association was able to attract both Eleanor Roosevelt, who was playing a prominent part in United Nations affairs, and Trygve Lie, the Secretary General of the UN, to address public meetings in Canada in 1947. Over 10,000 people attended the meeting in Montreal which was addressed by Mrs. Roosevelt and both events were widely covered by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The Association built up its basic services during this period, including arranging speaking tours of the branches by outstanding persons and experts on UN affairs, the publication of newsletters and information publications about the UN system, (60,000 copies of *United Nations News* were being distributed regularly by 1948), regular press releases to the 700 weekly newspapers of the country, and the presentation of resolutions to government which encouraged it to support the UN in its activities, both political and humanitarian.

The early fifties were a difficult period for the Association. This has been attributed to the onset of the "Cold War", which had the effect of limiting the effectiveness of the UN in some areas of activity, and to "McCarthyism", which discouraged some sections of public opinion from seeking accommodation with the "other side" in some areas of dispute.

By contrast, the first half of the 1960s was a period of rapid growth and innovation for UNAC. A well known scholar/journalist, Willson Woodside, became the National Director in 1958 and with the assistance of an outstanding Executive Committee, greatly increased financial resources were made available for the work of the Association. Woodside devoted his attention mainly to the

information and publication program of the Association, producing new and highly regarded periodical publications, of which *The United Nations in Action* and *World Review* were the leading examples. Some 70,000 copies of the latter were being mailed monthly to the secondary schools in the country, and generally, the publications program of the Association increased some 15 fold between 1960 and 1965.

Residential seminars for high school students had been originated in Winnipeg in the early fifties and by the end of the decade, there were seven held annually in the various regions. The work among school and university students was expanded considerably in the early sixties, especially after the appointment of a Youth Secretary to the staff (Michael Clague was the first to held that position). Model UN General Assemblies were held in the regions and by 1960, three annual national assemblies were being held, attracting in 1960 participants from 60 universities and colleges across the country. A large overseas "pen pal" program was launched as well.

Leadership changed at the national level and the fortunes of UNAC took a turn for the worse in the late 1960s. For a time the level of expenditure was maintained even though revenues were falling sharply. There were several changes in the national staff in rapid succession and the period has been described by the Association's historian as one of "decline and collapse" (Archer 1985). The Association's debt reached an alarming level and the National office actually closed down completely for a period. Friends of the Association rallied round and in the early seventies, the debt of the national body was gradually reduced. In 1972 a national office "administrator" was appointed and the national office began to emerge as an effective centre of activity once again. It was a sign of the strength of the Association that although the national office had collapsed in this way, the local branches across the country for the most part remained in existence and carried on with their regular activities, drawing on local support and resources.

The year 1975 may be seen as the beginning of a new period of growth and innovation for the Association. The publications program was revived, a quarterly *United Nations Bulletin* beginning at this time and continuing until the present. There have been several different national directors in the last fifteen years and considerable attention has been accorded to the public relations of the Association. Certain high visibility features have been introduced, such as the annual presentation of the "Pearson Medal" to a prominent figure and the organization of an annual national conference. The sum of $150,000 was secured from the Donner Canadian Foundation over a three year period for the purpose of strengthening the Association's media and publications program. The program activities of the Association have been built up once again and a Program Officer appointed to the national staff. The model student UN General Assemblies have received considerable staff support and are well supported and increasingly well known. Membership in the Association has never reached the figures of the lively early 1960s,

but are at a reasonable level, approximately 3,000, according to the latest figures available.

It should be pointed out that the foregoing account is based largely on a description of the activities of the national office of UNAC, the only general history available. It is important to point out that the many local branches across the country, though materially assisted by national publications programs, etc., function largely on their own, carrying out a program of regular public meetings, model UN general assemblies and other activities for youth members, and generally promoting at the local level knowledge and support for the United Nations system and its goals. Though the author does not have access to accounts of the activities of local branches, presumably they too have gone through ups and downs over the decades, prospering in times of effective leadership and languishing somewhat when that leadership wasn't there.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the CAAE

These two organizations, although entirely different in nature, are being dealt with in the same section of this chapter because of their close association in connection with two famous citizenship education projects, National Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum. (Considerable background on the CAAE was provided in Chapter 3.)

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was created by the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936, and was in some respects a successor of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, which had existed since 1932. The latter had been created by the Conservative Bennett government, and the Prime Minister referred to it at the time as "the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened" (In Peers 1969:441). In summing up the first volume of his history of the CBC, which is the standard work on the subject, F.W. Peers comments as follows on the origins and functions of the CBC:

> Nationalist sentiment had achieved Canadian ownership and control of stations and networks, full coverage for the scattered population of an immense territory, and the use of broadcasting to foster national objectives. The aims had been national survival, whether in English or in French Canada or in Canada as a whole; a Canadian sense of identity; national unity; increased understanding between regions and language groups; cultural development; and the serving of Canadian economic interests. (Peers 1969:440)

Before turning to an examination of three major contributions to citizenship education by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian Asociation for Adult Education, it is instructive to examine the proceedings of a conference held in late May of 1945, which brought together representatives of National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and the National Film Board (and in the case of the former two, of the sponsoring organizations of the projects as

well). The meeting was held in Winnipeg, just a few weeks after the war in Europe had ended, and directed its attention to planning for the reconstruction period in Canada. The motivation and aspirations of the leaders of these organizations, as revealed in the report of this conference, explain in large measure the thinking on which these famous projects were based (CAAE 1945).

It is worth noting how the representation and sponsorship of the conference were stated. The opening sentence of the conference report (and the cover of the pamphlet in which it appeared) refer to three sponsors, National Farm Radio Forum, the National Film Board and Citizens' Forum, and these three are referred to as "national adult education agencies" (p.3). Elsewhere the report makes reference to representations from various agencies, but mainly from five, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the National Film Board (NFB), Citizens' Forum (co-sponsored by the CBC and the CAAE), National Farm Radio Forum (co-sponsored by these two plus the Canadian Federation of Agriculture), and the Wartime Information Board, the latter being the government wartime propaganda agency (and shortly afterwards to be disbanded). The reference to Farm Forum and Citizens' Forum as "national agencies" was a significant attempt to emphasize what was perhaps the central goal of the conference, the need for continued co-operation among the leading national agencies in the field.

The shared goal of those present was expressed in various ways by the speakers at the meeting, but the central idea was clearly to help create a better society in Canada, through an improvement in the functioning of the democratic system. The emphasis was on educating citizens, so they possessed both the knowledge and the skills which would enable them to play an effective part in democratic decision making.

The CAAE convened the meeting, under the leadership of E.A. Corbett. The purpose of the conference was stated to be to devise means of co-ordination and co-operation among the organizations represented in order to achieve what was termed "a fuller program of adult education in urban and rural Canada, and for co-operation with all other voluntary and governmental bodies to meet the grave responsibilities of the postwar world" (CAAE 1945:3). In his opening statement Corbett referred to the common goal of everyone present, "an informed public opinion". "That's our business", he said (CAAE 1945:3).

The CBC and the NFB were well represented at the meeting, the former by E.L. Bushnell, Director General of Programs, the latter by its Director, John Grierson. The spokespersons for both agencies—and indeed for all agencies present—made clear their commitment to citizenship education as part of their mandate as well as a wish to continue to co-operate with other organizations in the post war period. Grierson made one of his most memorable speeches about adult education at this meeting, one which has since been reprinted several times, entitled "Education in a Technological Society". In it he stressed that the new technology of education, the "how" of education, was not the basic challenge:

> In my view, the basic problem of education lies not so much in the acquisition of literacy or knowledge of skills, as in the pattern of civic appreciation, civic faith and civic duty which goes with them. (CAAE 1945:35)

Technology had helped to create "a new kind of society", but Canadians "have not yet given ourselves the new kind of imagination or the new conception of citizenship which makes it tolerable" (p.35). He spoke as well of the urgency of developing "responsibility and disciplines and duties" appropriate to the new technological society and described the challenge ahead in language which clearly inspired the well known "Declaration" proclaimed by the CAAE in the following year, when he stated that "the crisis in education today lies in the imaginative training for modern citizenship and not anywhere else" (p.36).

Spokespersons for the two national programs, National Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum (the latter concluding only its second year of operation) spoke mainly in terms of the goals of the work. What seems most significant is that in both cases, in addition to speaking of helping to produce better informed individual citizens, they put particular emphasis on the importance of learning to function in groups and of the fact that social action should flow from group deliberations. The latter point was stressed particularly by Ralph Staples, who spoke on behalf of Farm Forum, but George Grant (later the well known philosopher), who spoke for Citizens' Forum, while he stressed that the main purpose of the program was "to get Canadians to think for themselves", also stressed that "discussion must lead forward to greater responsiblity to our communites, our nation and our world" (p.16-17).

The resolutions endorsed by the meeting put particular emphasis on the need for co-operation in the post war period among organizations (public and voluntary) which were concerned with matters of citizenship, social and cultural development. Those present called upon the CAAE to "take initiative in setting up a national co-operating committee to assist in integrating the adult education work" of the various agencies represented, and further that "this committee should facilitate the integration of the work of these agencies in national program planning and in community organization...." (p.7). Clearly this meeting and its resolutions revealed Corbett's success in placing his organization at the centre of national planning in these areas. It also indicated with remarkable clarity the effective network and sense of common cause among key actors in efforts aimed at the social and cultural development of Canadian society. As well it provided the basis for a process which was to culminate in the establishment of the Joint Planning Commission.

E.A. "Ned" Corbett, the Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education from 1936 to 1951, is generally credited as being the key figure behind the creation of three famous Canadian adult education projects, National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and the Joint Planning Commission. The first of these three was, perhaps along with the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia (see

the next chapter), one of the two best known Canadian contributions to the field of adult education, as seen from an international perspective (Lowe 1975; Ohliger 1967).

National Farm Radio Forum

The origins of National Farm Radio Forum have been described by many writers, some of whom were directly involved in the events themselves (Armstrong 1968; Corbett 1957; Faris 1975; McKenzie in I. Wilson et al 1954; Ohliger 1967; Selman 1981; Sim 1954). There had been a great deal of experience with local discussion groups in the rural areas of Canada in the years prior to the establishment of Farm Forum (Armstrong 1968; McKenzie 1954), and with discussion groups which made use of radio broadcasts, in Britain and the United States (Ohliger 1967). Corbett had for some years before the war hoped that the CAAE could "provide assistance to the study club movement in Canada" by publishing study material and subject outlines (Armstrong 1968:104). He also had been a prominent figure in the early thirties in advocacy efforts which led to the establishment of a public broadcasting system in Canada, and was a close associate of W. Gladstone Murray, the first General Manager of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) (Armstrong 1968). In the most detailed account we have of these events, David Armstrong indicates that at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the CAAE, held in mid-September, 1937, two motions were passed the effects of which led eventually to National Farm Radio Forum. In an effort to make both the CAAE and adult education itself more widely known, Corbett was instructed to involve the Association in a substantial publishing program and also to arrange with the CBC for the broadcast of a series of radio lectures about adult education and its place in society. During the ensuing period, further radio-based discussion programs were conducted in Canada, both involving co-operation between the CBC and the CAAE. One was entitled "Inquiry into Co-operation" and involved broadcasts, organized listening groups, and study materials which were sent to registered groups. The second was called "Community Clinic" and operated in regions of Quebec, under the leadership of Macdonald College of McGill University. In this case groups were encouraged to send in reports on their dicussions. Both of these projects took place in 1940 and may be seen to be forerunners of Farm Forum.

In the fall of 1940, Farm Radio Forum went on the air in the Eastern region of CBC coverage, with particular concentration on Ontario and Quebec, but with some development in the Maritimes as well. In the fall of 1941, the program went on the national network. It was sponsored by three organizations, the CBC, the CAAE and the Canadian Federation of Agriculture.

National Farm Radio Forum utilized a unique blend of four methodologies. The weekly topics covered in the series were decided upon by representatives of

the three sponsoring organizations, which as the program went on were in turn informed as well by suggestions from the participating listening groups.

The first element was the local Farm Forum group. These were groups formed for the purpose by the the CAAE (and its co-operating organizations across the country) or by the Federation of Agriculture. The majority of the groups were made up of members of existing organizations—co-operatives, farm organizations, women's institutes, etc. The groups were constituted in the fall, at the beginning of the program season (usually 26 weeks long) for the purpose of following and participating in the program. There was a national office of Farm Forum which provided organizational support, and much of the local organizational effort came from university extension departments or other agencies concerned with agricultural extension work. The forums, or local groups, came together on the night of the radio broadcast and at the conclusion of the program went on to discuss the week's topic. The conclusions or opinions of the groups were afterwards reported to a Provincial Secretary in each region.

The Farm Forum national office, besides being responsible for the organization of the listening groups and other administrative matters, published in advance of every broadcast a *Farm Forum Guide*, which among other things contained factual background information on the week's topic. These guides were made available to group members, usually at the previous week's meeting. The guides contained other material as well, such as news about the program, discussion questions on which the group's opinions were sought and suggestions about relevant films or further reading.

The third major element consisted of the weekly broadcast. This was the responsibility of the Farm Broadcast Department of the CBC. The emphasis in the *Farm Forum Guide*, mentioned above, was the provision of factual material. The broadcasts frequently featured differences of view, perspective and opinion about the topic. This took the form of debate, panel discussions, and sometimes included elements of drama. An important additional feature was the brief (usually five minute) report by the Provincial Secretary. The broadcasts were seen generally as a means both to provide additonal information and also to stimulate discussion in the groups.

The fourth element of Farm Forum, one which has been judged to be particularly significant, may be termed "feedback". This consisted mainly of the process by which, based on the discussion questions which were provided in the *Farm Forum Guide*, the groups sent a summary of their opinions on the topic of the week to the Provincial Secretary. He or she was given five minutes at the end of each week's broadcast to summarize or report back to the Forums in the region on what the response had been to the previous week's topic. In some years, every 4th or 5th week's broadcast was entirely devoted to discussion of feedback from the groups. As the project gained momentum, this process was also used to gather suggestions about future Farm Forum topics. This feedback element of the

program was seen by many to be particularly significant because it helped to offset or counteract the "one way" nature of the print and broadcast media. It "completed the circle", in a sense.

Although it was not an integral part of the Farm Forum format, there was a fifth element of considerable significance, which came to be an important product of the project. That is what has been termed a community development outgrowth or offshoot of Forum activity. Although no comprehensive account of this activity exists, several of those who were associated with the program have indicated that many of the listening groups or forums carried out community development or community improvement projects in their local area, arising from the topics which were discussed, or from the group spirit and enthusiasm of the members of the Forum, who over time in many cases came to know each other very well.

Farm Forum, as the name indicates, was aimed at the rural part of the population. The topics chosen for discussion were selected with this audience in mind. The topics for the 1947-48 season, for instance, included the following: Youth on the Farm; The Farmer Takes a Wife; A Farm Organization for Everyone; What's New in Health?; The Teacher in the Community; Organizing for Community Action; Marketing by Co-op; The World is our Market; Do we Need a National Marketing Act?; What Price Shall We Ask?; Are Farmers Businessmen?; What the Machine Has Done to Us; Do We Farm the Soil—Or Mine It?; Do We Want More Immigration? (See *Food For Thought* 8,1, 1947:21).

Farm Radio Forum had a life of some 24 years, from 1941 to 1965. Participation in the program rose during the 1940s to a high point of 1,600 groups (containing approximately 30,000 members) in the program year 1949-50. From that point on, there was a gradual decline, there being about 500 groups by 1958. Considerable efforts were made to promote interest in the late fifties and early sixties, innovations such as phone in "hot lines" and the organization of specialized "commodity groups" being introduced. Although these achieved a modest increase in the number of forums in 1962-63, the following year the decline continued, there being 300 groups in 1963-64. The co-operating organizations decided to disband the project at the end of the program year in 1965. Reasons for the decline and eventual termination of the project are complex, but would appear to include: that any such program has a "natural" lifespan and participation can only be sustained for so long; that sociological and cultural change in rural communities (including the proliferation of the motor car and the advent of television) affected the willingness of persons to take part; that there had been insufficient funds in the project to sustain organizational and promotional efforts at the regional level; and that the CBC changed its approach to public affairs broadcasting and came to have less interest in such projects and in sustained relationships with community organizations.

In the meantime, the world had beaten a path to National Farm Radio Forum's door. It was perceived by planners in developing nations, officials of international

aid agencies, and by adult educators in many countries that Farm Forum techniques could be effective in assisting with the dissemination of information and the involvement of adults in national development plans. Mention has already been made of the fact that when Ned Corbett returned from the first post-war World Conference on Adult Education in Denmark in 1949, which was sponsored by UNESCO, he reported that "every English-speaking delegate" at the conference had been familiar with the contributions of Farm Forum to the field of adult education (Kidd 1950:xi). Reference has also been made in Chapter 2 to the fact that UNESCO commissioned a study of National Farm Radio Forum so that it could be made better known in other countries (Sim 1954), and that both John Ohliger in his study of the utilization of the mass media and listening groups in adult education (Ohliger 1967) and John Lowe in his UNESCO-sponsored world survey of adult education (Lowe 1975) recognized the outstanding contribution of Canada's Farm Forum program to the field of adult education.

It has been estimated that projects based on the Farm Forum model were developed in at least 44 other countries (Cochrane et al 1986). More specific detail on this matter is provided in an article written in 1962 by Rodger Schwass, then Editor-Manager of Farm Radio Forum:

> Farm Forum in Canada is in its twenty-third season. It is seven years of age in India, four years old in South Africa. Work begins in Nigeria this month to organize thousands of farm forums and a workshop is planned which will train workers for farm forum service in fourteen West African nations. Adaptations of the technique have operated for ten years in Japan and for nearly a decade in France and in the West Indies. (Schwass 1962:315)

Ned Corbett has generally been credited with providing the key leadership role in the establishment of National Farm Radio Forum. The project was a product of his commitment to the education of rural people, his search for a means of moving the CAAE into a direct programming role, his unique capacity for engendering and sustaining co-operative working relationships among organizations, his enthusiasm for the study group as a setting for learning, his close ties with the CBC, and perhaps most important of all, his commitment to citizenship education and the building of a sense of national identity in Canada (Armstrong 1968; Corbett 1957; Faris 1975; Selman 1981; Young 1978).

Citizens' Forum

Citizens' Forum represented the application of the Farm Forum methodologies to a more general and urban audience. The account given above of the 1945 Joint Conference indicates the kind of thinking out of which Citizens' Forum sprang. There was in the latter years of the war a strong conviction that if a better world and a stronger Canadian society were to be built, a world which would be successful in avoiding economic depressions and world wars such as had recently been experienced, the democratic system must be strengthened, and the kind of

inter-agency co-operation which had been achieved in the war effort should be brought to bear on that task.

Isabel Wilson, who is the person who has written most extensively about Citizens' Forum (Wilson in Wilson et al 1954; Wilson 1980), was the National Secretary of the project for most of its life. Her account of the origins of this second national forum project, like the one provided by Corbett in his autobiography (Corbett 1957), indicates that the National Farm Radio Forum model was relied upon in terms of the methodologies to be employed. The CBC was already running a weekly broadcast series entitled "Of Things to Come", which originated in various Canadian cities and dealt with public affairs topics of domestic and international interest. When approached by the CAAE, the CBC agreed to modify the series along the lines of Farm Radio Forum, and this idea was strongly supported by the CAAE annual conference in the spring of 1943. A special conference was called for September of that year to work out detailed plans and to promote the participation of a wide variety of organizations. Corbett indicates that when the conference met there were 135 delegates, "representing every Province in the Dominion" (Corbett 1957:169). Citizens' Forum was launched some weeks later.

Citizens' Forum was more directly under the administration of the CAAE than was Farm Forum. There was the familiar CBC-CAAE relationship, but in this case, no third sponsoring organization. In the case of Farm Forum, the project maintained an office separate from that of the CAAE, but the newer project was an integral part of the CAAE's operations. There was a National Committee for Citizens' Forum in the early years, the original members of which represented the CAAE, the CBC, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the YMCA and YWCA, libraries, the Workers' Educational Association, the Canadian Congress of Labour, and the Navy and the Army. Representatives of the business community and other interests were added later.

The purposes of Citizens' Forum have been summed up by Wilson as "providing a basis for people to meet, examine the issues, share their opinions, and reach conclusions on the best course for public action" (Wilson 1980:18). There is no reference here to the forum groups themselves taking action within their own communities, and indeed this seems to have been much less the case than with Farm Forum.

The kinds of topics dealt with in the Citizens' Forum is revealed by the following, selected from those for the program year 1954-55: Charity Appeals: Is Something Wrong with the System?; The Church: Social Centre or Spritual Community?; Divorce: Should the Laws be Amended?; Can McCarthyism Happen Here?; Is Civil Defence Obsolete?; Federal Scholarships; Are the Liberals in to Stay?; Free Enterprise in Canada: Fact or Fancy?; Have We a Free and Responsible Press?; Do We Need a Bolder Immigration Policy?; Russia and China: Are Their Interests Really the Same?; How Important is the Common-

wealth?; United Nations: First Ten Years or Last?; How Can We Pay for Municipal Government?; Are We Satisfied with Canadian Broadcasting? (*Food For Thought*, 15,1, 1954:49).

The responsibilities of the two major sponsoring organizations were similar to the arrangements for Farm Forum, except that without the third sponsoring body, the CAAE had an expanded role. The CBC looked after the broadcasts, as in the case of Farm Forum. These frequently took the form of a panel of speakers who represented different shades of opinion on the topic. For some years of the program, a continuing chairman took part in most if not all of the broadcasts. Morley Callaghan was chairman for the first two years. The Associate Director of the CAAE, Gordon Hawkins, was in the role for two years in the mid-fifties. Frequently, however, the chairmen were drawn from the community in which the broadcast originated. Isabel Wilson (1980) has commented that a lack of a continuing popular personality in the chair over the long haul probably was a limitation from the point of view of building a large audience. And the fact that there was a changing mix of panel members resulted in the program never establishing a consistent "style". As she has put it, "It could be mild or abrasive, restrained or explosive, hotly argumentative or quietly reflective" (Wilson 1980:32).

The CAAE was responsible for the other elements of the program: for organizing listening groups across the country, publishing the weekly pamphlets and distributing them to the groups in advance of the broadcasts, and managing the feedback system from the groups. Perhaps even more obviously than in the case of Farm Forum, the weak point in Citizens' Forum lay in the lack of time and energy which went into the organization of listening groups. In most provinces, at any rate, the task was entrusted to the programming staff within the extension department of the provincial university, or in one of the universities. The author, when he joined the Extension Department of The University of British Columbia in 1954, fell heir to this responsibility. It was but one task among several major program responsibilities in the job, and while one attempted to do justice by the program, only so much time could be given to it. Too frequently all that could be done was to re-establish contact with the groups which had functioned the year before, rather than making strenuous efforts as well to create new ones.

One of the major features of Citizens' Forum which may be said to be of "permanent" value is the background pamphlets which were published for each weekly topic. They now constitute a valuable library which reflects the concerns of Canadians over the twenty year span of the program. In most cases the CAAE contracted with an expert on the subject to write the 12 page pamphlet, which was then edited as necessary by the CAAE staff—for many years, by Isabel Wilson, who served as both general organizer and pamphlet editor for the program. In that almost all topics discussed by Citizens' Forum were controversial, it is no small claim to be able to make, as Wilson does in her history of the project, that

"Citizens' Forum pamphlets never faced the organized opposition of any group in the community" (Wilson 1980:62). The same cannot be said, as Ron Faris has described in detail in his study, of the broadcasts. On occasion interest groups took offence at the choice of speakers or the balance of opinion represented on the broadcasts, the antagonistic comments being spearheaded on one "famous" occasion by the President of the CAAE itself (Faris 1975; Wilson 1980).

Citizens' Forum was in operation from 1943 until 1967, but the several final years were quite unsatisfactory. In its first year of operation, 1,215 groups took part. This figure fell to 800 the following year. The number stood at 400 for several years in the late forties and early fifties, but began to slide again, to 315 in 1953 and 200 in the following year. At this time, the program began its conversion to television, with the radio version for a period being simply the audio of the TV broadcast. The program was shortened to 30 minutes from the traditional 45 (to fit with TV patterns) and scheduled so late in the evening that it no longer could be used as a "discussion starter" for the groups. Clearly the discussion group aspect of Citizens' Forum had been sacrificed in the interests of gaining as large a "viewing audience" as possible, and at approximately this point too, the role of provincial secretaries in receiving and summarizing on the air the opinions of the groups on the previous week's topic was terminated (Wilson & Stinson 1957). In 1963-64, after many trials and experiments with the format and in the light of increasing signs of lack of interest on the part of the CBC, even the name was dropped, in favour of "The Sixties" and the radio version was converted to an open line show, the pre-cursor of "Cross Canada Checkup". The project was officially terminated in 1967.

Writing in 1957, Ned Corbett observed that whereas National Farm Radio Forum over the years had averaged "about 1,000 groups", in the case of Citizens' Forum, the figure "would be more like 200 to 300" (Corbett 1957:192). It may well be that in the case of Citizens' Forum, the CAAE did not have as many "natural allies" on which it could rely for assistance in stimulating the formation of groups as was the case in the rural sections of the country. Perhaps there were more alternative activites and "distractions" for urban dwellers as well. The other general observation which can be made in contrasting the two programs is that there was little or no parallel from the point of view of the listening groups becoming separate or continuing entities which undertook local community improvement projects, as was the experience in Farm Forum. That this did not happen in the case of Citizens' Forum is perhaps not surprising in view of the more urban setting of the groups.

Mention should also be made at this point of the fact that in 1979, under the dynamic leadership of Alan Thomas, the former Director of the CAAE, who was by then its President, the partnership between the CAAE and the CBC was revived briefly for a series of programs about public affairs issues which ran under the title of "People Talking Back". Some of the difficulties encountered in mounting the

co-operative venture in 1979 were a reminder of the considerable achievements of those who had invented and sustained the Farm and Citizens' Forum projects over a span of more than 20 years.

Joint Planning Commission

The chain of events leading to the creation of the Joint Planning Commission, another noteworthy achievement in Canadian citizenship education, may be seen in the account of the Joint Conference of 1945, which was described earlier. In the late war and immediate post-war period of "reconstruction" thinking, it was felt to be important that organizations interested and active in educational activites having to do with the cultural and social development of Canada should continue to work together in peacetime, as they had in wartime. The CAAE was asked by the organizations represented at the 1945 meeting to take the lead in the matter. Out of this arose the Joint Planning Committee (later Commission), which was formally established in 1947 and continued in operation until 1968.

In his autobiography, Ned Corbett (1957) traced the origins of the Joint Planning Commission (JPC) back to the founding of the CAAE itself in 1935. He pointed out that the co-ordination of adult education activities had from the formation of the organization been a "primary" function it was expected to perform. In his view the CAAE had first to "become known and accepted", which it did primarily through its leadership of Farm and Citizens' Forum, and then it could as well provide leadership in the co-ordination function, which he termed "the first and perhaps most important function of the CAAE" (Corbett 1957:209-10). Corbett saw the formation of the JPC as the culmination of co-operative relationships the CAAE had developed over the years with several bodies, such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Canadian Legion Educational Services, the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship, the Wartime Information Board, the National Film Board, and of course the partners involved in the two Forum projects. In his Director's Report to the CAAE in 1944, Corbett called for creating an instrument by means of which adult education in Canada could be "integrated and co-ordinated" (Quoted in Armstrong 1968:153). The Joint Conference of 1945, already described, was in his view part of a natural progression from these earlier relationships as well as the beginning of the planning for a new, somewhat more formalized vehicle for future co-operation.

The CAAE conference of May, 1946, was intended to work out the details of a co-ordinating or joint planning body for the field of citizenship education in Canada. It was attended by 125 delegates, representatives of many national agencies involved in adult education. It endorsed the well known "1946 Declaration" on education for citizenship (which is described in Chapter 3) and as well established a plan of action and statement of purposes for the Joint Planning Commission. As stated in Clare Clark's *The Joint Planning Commission* (1954), the most substantial study of the Commission which has been published, the

purposes of the "Committee" (as it was called at first) were:

a. to facilitate the exchange of information on program and activities between the different agencies in the field.
b. to avoid overlapping and duplication of effort particularly in the production of program materials.
c. to work out more effective ways of using available materials and agencies.
d. to consider areas of adult education not being covered and to reach groups not now being reached.
e. to make suggestions about program needs.

(Clark 1954:8-9)

Consultations with organizations were held in the ensuing months under the leadership of Ned Corbett and John Robbins, the latter representing the Council on Education for Citizenship and acting as "secretary" in this formative period. It was clear that more substantial resources were required, however, and Corbett was successful in getting a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to support the project through its early stages. (Carnegie had provided support for the CAAE when it was first established, as it had done for the American counterpart organization in the previous decade.) Roby Kidd, a Canadian who was about to graduate from Columbia University with his doctorate in adult education, was known to the foundation's officers and it was suggested to Corbett that he would be an appropriate person to give leadership to the new planning body. Corbett employed Kidd as Associate Director of the CAAE, with responsibility as well to be Secretary of the JPC.

The Joint Planning Commission was an unusual organization. It had no "membership" in the formal sense of the term. Organizations could place themselves on the mailing list and attend the regular meetings (usually three a year) if they were interested in doing so. The CAAE provided the secretariat for the Commission, but in all the meetings and other activities, it was just one among equals as far as the participating organizations were concerned. The "membership" of the Commission soon grew to approximately 70 organizations, drawn from business, the churches, labour, government, universities and voluntary agencies. Some years later, in his book published in 1961, A.F. Laidlaw categorized the participating organizations as follows:

Business and professional groups	15
Labour organizations	4
Churches	5
Government departments and agencies	18
Provincial departments of education	6
University extension	17
Voluntary organizations	49
	114

(Laidlaw 1961:15)

The JPC carried out a variety of tasks and many organizations were represented at its meetings by the same person on a regular basis. These persons came to know

each other well, and in most cases, worked easily together. Clark (who succeeded Kidd as Secretary of the Commission when the latter became Director of the CAAE in 1951) concluded her study of the JPC by stating that they had learned that "co-ordination is not something that a person *does*.... Co-ordination is a process; it *happens*, when opportunities are created for a full and free exchange of ideas and experience" (Clark 1954:31).

The JPC met usually three times a year. One of the meetings was given over largely to a series of reports from the participating organizations on their program and publication plans for the year. This sounds rather formidable but apparently worked well, under the genial chairmanship of longstanding chairman, Walter Herbert, and brought out a great deal of information which facilitated opportunities for co-operation and mutual support among some of the member groups. Other meetings during the year (most were held in Toronto, Ottawa or Montreal) were devoted to topical subjects, such as: briefings about royal commissions or other major government initiatives; information on public issues, especially those in the fields of culture, social development or education; communications issues such as broadcasting policy, aspects of the emerging television services, etc.; other significant developments in the field of education such as "Teaching Machines and Programmed Learning", "Retraining and Employment", etc. The Commission, through its well placed members, was able to attract as participants and guest speakers at their meetings key persons in national affairs, such as the chairpersons of royal commissions, senior political and business leaders, and on one occasion, in 1964, Prime Minister L.B. Pearson, who spoke on International Co-operation Year.

The Commission did much more than meet three times a year, however. It had standing committees on areas such as radio, film evaluation and community centres; it published bibliographies; it established awards for outstanding work in radio and film production; it conducted surveys of topics such as labour education and education in penal institutions; it commissioned studies on significant public issues and assisted member organizations which were preparing briefs to government or public inquiries. Its work in connection with the topics under review by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences was particularly notable. In connection with program initiatives such as the latter, it should be noted that participation in JPC studies and deliberations did not commit any of the participating organizations to a particular point of view, or to taking any action at all on such issues. The members gained background information about the subjects, but were free to take whatever action they chose—if any—on the matter. This was essential if government departments and those with strongly contrasting views on issues were to participate.

The JPC was clearly a valuable meeting ground for institutional and other representatives. It was in a sense "one meeting away from extinction" at all times, but people kept attending, presumably feeling that they were deriving benefit from

so doing. The Commission functioned for slightly more than twenty years and was clearly a significant element in the cultural, social and educational development of the country during that period. It provided a means for a meeting of minds and exchange of information among a range of (mainly) national organizations and a forum for learning about and exchanging views concerning significant national issues.

The maintenance of such co-ordinating or consultative bodies is no simple matter. North America (and other regions) is strewn with the corpses of such co-ordinating organizations—national and local—which simply were not made to work. It was perceived by many knowledgeable persons that the JPC in Canada was unusually successful. In her study of the project, Clark provides considerable detail on the extent of interest shown in the JPC by persons and organizations in other countries (Clark 1954:14).

Perhaps one reason for the success of the JPC was the special interest which the two successive Directors of the CAAE, Ned Corbett and Roby Kidd, had in the project. It was Corbett's brainchild, and in large measure his creation. It symbolized and was built upon his unique capacity for "networking" with and attracting the interest of leaders in various walks of life. Kidd came to the staff of the CAAE in 1947 with special responsibility to make the JPC work, and he had a continuing interest in it throughout its life.

Attendance at the regular JPC meetings began to decline in the sixties and the organization began to experiment with occasional conferences on special topics rather than the regular three meetings a year. It has also been suggested that as the sixties progressed, the JPC was not successful in adapting to the increasingly bilingual style of operations of national organizational life. In the end, the management committee recommended the termination of the Commission's activities, a measure which was approved in early 1968 by the CAAE Board (Selman 1985).

The National Film Board of Canada

The National Film Board of Canada (NFB) was created by Parliament in the spring of 1939, to some degree taking over the functions of the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, which had been in existence since 1914. John Grierson, who already had done outstanding work in Britain as a maker of documentary films, was appointed as the first head of the new unit. The Act which created the NFB stated as one of its purposes, to "produce and distribute...films designed to interpret Canada to Canadians and to other nations" (cited in Jones 1981). To this general aim of nation building was soon added, as a result of the outbreak of the Second World War only a few months later, the task of rallying the Canadian people behind the war effort. But the more general aim was still central. In its annual report in 1942, the Board specified its purpose. Its films had been:

> designed deliberately to promote a sense of national unity and a national understanding between the many groups which go to make the Canadian nation. They are designed to interpret the interests of each section of Canada to the others, and to integrate sectional interests with the interests of the nation as a whole. (Quoted in Evans 1984:117)

This mandate clearly involved the NFB in a combination of education and propaganda, the need for the latter being reinforced by the onset of wartime conditions. This was not a problem to Grierson, in that in his mind, there was no difference between education and propaganda. As one of his biographers has stated, "Grierson wanted to organize a movement to preach, spread and maintain the democratic faith" (Evans 1984:36). As another student of Grierson's work has put it, to Grierson, "Propaganda seems simply to be education given the punch that it needs to be effective in a mass society" (Lockerbie in John Grierson Project 1984:97). The wartime conditions under which Grierson functioned for most of his tenure with the Film Board provided a context in which propaganda was widely accepted as a necessary and acceptable function of the agency.

Grierson was a genius in the making of documentary films. He viewed the documentary as a tool for propagating ideas, as a "way to change mass consciousness" (Evans 1984:9). He is quoted by the editor of a volume of his writings as having stated:

> I have been a propagandist all my working life because I have believed that we needed to do our democratic mind over if we were going to save democracy. I have believed that in education was the heart of the matter, but that education needed to be revolutionized.... I have organized my own educational revolution, and that is what the documentary movement is and what it is about. (Hardy in John Grierson Project 1984:108)

The National Film Board of Canada, under Grierson's leadership, soon gained an international reputation for excellence in the field of the documentary film, one which it has maintained over the years. However, it was one thing to make fine films; it was another to get Canadians to look at them. It is the solution which was devised to cope with this challenge which is the focus of attention in the present study. This consisted of the travelling projectionist/discussion leader, the local film council and the film circuit. The focus here is on the non-theatrical distribution of films. As Grierson was fond of saying, there were more seats outside of theatres than in them (Evans 1984:160).

During the war years, the NFB relied on three main devices as means of getting their films seen by the people of Canada. These were the rural film circuits, the industrial circuits and the trade union circuits. In all three cases, projectionists were employed who travelled from one location to another (in the case of the rural circuits, over considerable distances) and showed films to whatever audiences could be attracted. The film was still in its infancy in many respects and there was widespread interest in this new means of communication. Rural audiences had few opportunities otherwise to view films and in his book about the NFB's distri-

bution system, C.W. Gray provides some wonderful stories about the reactions of some such audiences to their early film viewing (Gray 1973). In the case of the industrial and trade union circuits, the audiences were in most cases relatively easy to reach—on the job-site or at union meetings. By these means, in the first full year of operation, the non-theatrical distribution system was reaching audiences of a quarter of a million persons a month, or a total of four million in the year 1942 (Buchanan 1944; Evans 1984). These methods were relied upon for the balance of the wartime period.

Following the war, the budget of the Film Board was considerably reduced and other methods had to be found to sustain the non-threatrical film distribution. The Board developed a strategy which relied, essentially, on the interest and voluntary activity of many Canadians who had a particular interest in film as a medium of communication and as an art form. The Board, through its field staff in the regions of the country, fostered the growth of local film councils and established film libraries across the country, which in turn serviced a far flung network of "film circuits". J.R. Kidd, who was an expert in film utilization and wrote a great deal about film distribution in Canada, has stressed the basic difference in the NFB's approach between the wartime years and the post-war period. Writing in 1953, he stated:

> No longer does the NFB field man, an itinerant projectionist, carry a program to each of twenty points and put on the show. The screenings at all places are now entirely in the hands of local film councils or film committees. (Kidd 1953:18)

The film libraries in each province were typically placed in the extension departments of the provincial universities. They maintained contact with the local film councils and administered the film circuits, in consultation with the Film Board field men. This latter responsibility included seeing that a small collection of films was provided to each community on the circuit at regular intervals. As well, they provided other services such as assisting with the training of council members and projectionists, offering courses on film utilization and film appreciation and stimulating creative approaches to film distribution at the community level.

The NFB field man now became much more than an itinerant projectionist. He or she became a supervisor of the operation of the film circuit system. Writing in 1953, Kidd stated that there were currently 62 field men employed by the Board and that as a result of the operation of the film circuit system, there were approximately 4,900 non-theatrical "viewing points" for NFB films, resulting in an average of 75 such points to be supervised by each NFB field officer (Kidd 1953:21-22). This film circuit activity flourished in Canada until the advent of television in the early fifties.

In an article summarizing the activites of the NFB in the post-war years, it was stated in 1950 that in spite of the reduction of funds available to the Board since the war, community audiences for NFB films had tripled. "In all, more than 1,300

different audiences, numbering about 1,000,000 persons, view screenings each month outside the regular theatres" (Canada as a Film-Maker 1950:11).

The work of the National Film Board which has just been described forms an important part of the story of adult education for citizenship in this country. It is clear from the ideas of Grierson and others that the documentary film, which has been referred to by one of Grierson's colleagues as "the citizenship movie" (Buchanan 1944:4), was seen as an educational instrument in the continuing effort of nation building and the seeking of the Canadian identity. In addition, the non-theatrical distribution system which was devised and maintained by the Board and its allies was an extremely creative response to the challenge of size and distance within Canadian society. By devising a distribution system which relied essentially on the efforts of local people and organizations, the Board was able to make a contribution to citizenship education in Canada which was not only of outstanding quality, but which as well reached into virtually every community in the country.

The Co-operative Movement

Although other projects in co-operative action and education, including the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia, will be dealt with in the next chapter, it is appropriate to make at least brief reference to this aspect of adult education for citizenship here as well. What will be dealt with here briefly are two examples of activities conducted within the co-operative movement which were perhaps focused more on encouraging qualities of general citizenship than on economic change. The line is a delicate one to draw, but seems a valid distinction for present purposes. Both projects took place in Manitoba, during and immediately after the Second World War.

The first was a remarkable program of local study groups which were organized under the auspices of the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture (later the Manitoba Fedreation of Agriculture and Co-operation). The aim was along the lines of National Farm Radio Forum, to involve as many interested persons as possible in the study of topics related to farm and rural life, and to do so through the study group, thus providing opportunities for the participants to gain skills in expressing and analyzing ideas and to foster group and community life. The project began in a small way in 1937-38, with only 17 groups taking part that year. This number rose to 58 the following year and over 200 in 1939-40. The high point was reached in 1940-41, when 435 study groups were taking part, involving 4,287 participants. Rather than being based on standard sources of input as in the case of National Farm Radio Forum (the pamphlets and broadcasts), these Manitoba groups were supported by visiting speakers, training courses on speaking skills and other forms of assistance, as well as study guides. The government of Manitoba provided a grant of $5,000 to assist with the production of pamphlets to serve as a basis for

group study. They were on such topics as: Homemaking, Canadian Wheat Policy, Public Speaking, Foods and Health, Consumers' Co-operation, "Heritage of the Prairies", "Your Child Your School", "Theory and Practice of Co-operation", Rural Leadership, Rural Community Health, Soil Conservation, and Manitoba Folk Schools. In addition, four study pamphlets were issued in French, for use in French-speaking communities; *A Guide for Discussion Leaders* was also published. This remarkable flourishing of study group activity in Manitoba dropped off as wartime conditions began to be felt in earnest in the small communities of the province (Fairbairn 1989: Friesen & Parsey 1951).

As has been mentioned, one of the study group guides published under the program funded by the government was on the subject of folk schools. This publication told the story of the development of folk schools in Manitoba during the decade from 1940 to 1950 (Friesen & Parsey 1951). There was considerable folk school activity in both Manitoba and Ontario during that period, inspired by the internationally renowned Danish folk high schools. Indeed, if one considers as "folk schools" the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Schools which were organized in several provinces and the School of Community Life in Alberta, all of which had their origins about the same time in the late thirties and had been influenced by the Danish folk high schools, then it is possible to see this period as the high point of the folk schools in Canada.

Returning to the folk schools in Manitoba, which were the best developed ones in Canada, it is clear from their statement of goals that they were concerned with citizenship education, broadly speaking. The account of folk school activity states that they were intended to serve three general purposes:

> to make young people aware of the part they can play in community building; to give them some confidence in expressing their thoughts with ease and vigor; and to release the energy and latent talents of youth in order to bring about a rich personal development. (Friesen & Parsey 1951:14)

A more detailed statement of aims included reference to "awakening a community consciousness" and "imbuing the students with the will to study for action"—"not talk-democracy, but DO-demoncracy". The aims of the "Advanced Leadership Schools" which were begun in 1946, included the following: "To inspire in young people the desire for community service and leadership and to equip them with a few fundamental facts and techniques by which this desire may be fulfilled" (Friesen & Parsey 1951:14,28).

The folk schools were held throughout the province, in such locations as community halls, Canadian Legion branches, church and privately owned halls. They usually were four days long, and were held in the months October to May, when the participants could be spared from farm duties. The schools were open to persons between the ages of 16 and 35. Only a few were held each year (during the decade of the forties it varied from 5 to 9 per year), so participants sometimes travelled to other communites in order to take part. An average of six communities

were represented at each school. Average attendance per school hovered close to 20 each year, total enrollment reaching as high as 152 in the year 1942-43. Advanced Schools of three weeks duration were introduced in 1946, in response to the wish which had been expressed in some communities for a more intensive course. One of these courses was offered in 1946-47, three the following year and two in each of the ensuing two years. The content of the program in these longer schools included topics such as: public speaking and rules for conducting meetings, discussion group techniques, the co-operative movement, economics, agricultural practices, aspects of the arts, health and nutrition, visiting speakers and recreation.

Evaluation of the benefits or results of activities such as the folk schools is difficult at best. The "hardest" data which was gathered, if it could be termed that, was a study conducted in 1949 of the subsequent activities of those who had attended the first Advanced School in 1946 (Friesen & Parsey 1951). The goals of the schools were reflected in the kinds of activities the evaluators were interested in: acting as leaders in co-operative organizations, taking part in farm forums, assisting with folk schools, participating in public speaking contests, acting in "Youth Locals" (folk school "alumni" groups), etc.

This brief description of the folk schools in Manitoba can perhaps be concluded with a comment from the account of the work by J.K. Friesen and J.M. Parsey:

> By providing opportunities for group leadership, the schools instill confidence in the individual and arouse in him a feeling of greater responsibility. Idealistic youth is shown, in part, how to apply its energies in meeting the challenge of community welfare. The active desire, on the part of farm youth, to make a worthwhile contribution to community life cannot be over-emphasized. (Friesen & Parsey 1951:38)

It is clear from the foregoing account of some outstanding Canadian programs in the field of citizenship education that this country has produced over the decades some truly imaginative and effective projects in this field. Some of them have gained international recognition and have been borrowed and adapted for use elsewhere. All have had considerable impact on the lives of the Canadians who took part in them. "Imaginative training for citizenship" has been a major strand in adult education in Canada.

6

Education for Social Change

The previous chapter contained a description of aspects of adult education in Canada which were aimed at equipping or encouraging adult citizens to play an active part in the public life of their society. Many of the best known contributions Canada has made to adult education fall into that category. The present chapter will examine another important dimension of the field, projects which did not stop at disposing adults to be active in their role as citizens, but rather actively encouraged and assisted them to be agents of social change.

There has been a long tradition of adult education becoming actively involved in efforts to seek social and political change. The modern adult education movement is seen to date from the late decades of the eighteenth century. Harold Silver, in his *English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850* (1975), has shown that from the earliest stages in the development of the field, there has been a major element of adult education which has been allied with active efforts to bring about change in social, cultural and political aspects of society. There has never been a time in the history of the field when such a "strand" has not been present, and in recent decades, which have seen the emergence of so many Third World societies, this aspect of the field has been a particularly prominent one. Voices from the Third World, such as that of Paulo Freire, have strengthened those elements of the field in the more industrialized countries which have an interest in utilizing adult education as a means of promoting and achieving social change.

There has also been a strong tradition of and interest in adult education as an instrument of social change within North American society. Representative of that point of view has been Eduard Lindeman, whose ideas have been so influential. Something of the flavour of his views on the matter is provided by the following quotation from an article he wrote in 1945:

> The key word of democracy is participation. It is at this point that education enters the equation. Social action is in essence the use of force or coercion. The use of force or coercion is justified only when the force is democratic, and this means it must be derived from intelligence and reason. Adult education thus turns out to be the most reliable instrument for social actionists. If they learn how to educate the adherents of their movement, they can continue to utilize the compelling power of a group and still remain within the scope of democratic behavior. When they substitute

> something other than intelligence and reason, social action emanates as sheer power and soon degenerates into habits which tend toward an anti-democratic direction. Every social action group should at the same time be an adult education group, and I go even so far as to believe that all successful adult education groups sooner or later become social action groups. (Cited in Kidd 1959b:142-43)

In the vigorous philosophical debate about the purposes of adult education which has characterized the field in recent decades, there has been a strong tendency to contrast the use of adult education to serve individual needs with its use in serving social needs. Typical of the language of that debate is that used by Tom Lovett and his colleagues when they refer to the need to educate people "away from the dead end of individualism into the freedom that grows from co-operation and collective solutions to problems" (Lovett, Clarke & Kilmurray 1983:5).

There has been a strong element of adult education for social action in Canada, as the following pages will demonstrate. Community development, a social change strategy which relies heavily on adult education, has been a prominent part of the Canadian scene. The co-operative movement has taken the lead in many projects aimed at economic—and social—change. Government itself, and public agencies such as the National Film Board have at times, and in various ways, played a part in such work. It is in the nature of voluntary action in a society such as Canada's to be actively working for change of various kinds. The contemporary New Social Movements are important elements in that tradition.

Community Development in Canada

Community development, a process through which the members of a community assess the present state of their community, set goals for desired changes, and proceed to attempt to achieve those goals, has a rich and varied history in Canada. The author is not one of those who see community development as contained within the field of adult education (See for instance Verner & Booth 1964), but it is certainly the case that adult education plays a large part in any sound approach to such activity. And the adult educator appropriately contributes professional competence to the process, as do other community workers such as the community organization, public administration and community planning specialists. Community development is variously defined, but all acceptable definitions place emphasis not only on the role, but also on the growth of the members of the community as part of the process.

Community development in Canada goes back at least as early as the "lighted schoolhouse" movement of the early 1920s. The story of the work of Robert and Thelma England, beginning in 1920, in a largely Ukrainian rural school district in Saskatchewan, if not the earliest such community development work (in their case based on the rural school), may be seen at least as representative of those

beginnings (England 1929; England 1980). Another early example or demonstration of the community development approach was conducted under the auspices of the Canadian Association for Adult Education in The Pas, Manitoba, in the period 1938 to 1940, and led by Harry and Mary Avison (Welton 1987c). To this list of relatively early Canadian approaches to community development one might add the experiences of Florence O'Neill in Land's End, Newfoundland in 1942 (O'Neill 1963). A review of the considerable body of writing about "community councils" in the journal of the CAAE in the immediate post-war period indicates that the aims of those involved in that work were consistent with the community development approach (For example, see Baker 1945).

Apart from his account of the Antigonish Movement (see below), Jim Lotz, in his book about community development in Canada (1977), begins the story with a brief account of such work carried out under the auspices of the Government of Manitoba among the Native Indian and Metis population of that province, beginning in 1959. The work was directed by Jean Lagasse, who had conducted a study of the conditions under which people of Indian ancestry were living in that province and who had recommended that a program of community development should be introduced (Lagasse in Draper 1971). Having been appointed to take charge of such a program, he recruited a team of workers, who were assigned to various communities and set about working with local people in the achievement of goals which were established in the communities. Examples of projects which were undertaken include establishing a pulpwood co-operative, building housing, establishing friendship centres and concerted efforts to build better relationships between Native and white residents. Lotz has pointed out that these were fairly small scale projects, and that the emphasis in the Manitoba program was generally "helping Indians to develop skills, abilities and self-confidence in handling local development and the impact of change" (Lotz 1977:41). Lagasse left the province in 1963 and the subsequent actions of the Manitoba Government, as described by Lotz, indicate that the government had largely given up on (some would say, betrayed) the community development approach and proceeded instead with "top down" decisions involving the creation of large economic enterprises in the Northern regions of the province. This sort of abandonment by government of community development approaches after an initial period of support was to be all too common in the subsequent fifteen years of experience with this work in Canada.

Attention will be given in a later section of this chapter to the role of government study commissions and like bodies in promoting social change. The landmark case which will be described there and from which Canadians learned so much about how this process can work as an educational instrument was that of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, which reported in the mid-fifties.

After that process was concluded, the provincial government created a new community development agency and placed in charge of it William Baker, who had served as Chairman of the Royal Commission. This agency was entitled the Centre for Community Studies and several social scientists and educators who had done work for the Royal Commission joined the staff of the new organization. For several years thereafter, the Centre for Community Studies conducted community development programs in small towns of the province, carried out research on aspects of community change, and offered courses about community change strategy for professionals and community leaders. In addition, the Centre staff published a series of six pamphlets, the "Key to Community" series, based on this activity, which were widely circulated in Canada and were important resources for those working in the field. They were particularly useful in that they became available in the early 1960s, just as community development was gaining increased acceptance in government circles and study materials were required for the increasing numbers of persons who entered this type of practice (See for instance Stensland 1962; Larsen 1963).

Community development methodology was widely used in the Province of Quebec during the sixties— and afterwards— within the context of that society's efforts to transform itself, by means of what has been referred to as the "Quiet Revolution". The best known community development project, at least in the early sixties, was le Bureau d'Amenagement de l'Est du Quebec (usually referred to as BAEQ), which was the name of the society formed to carry out the work. It was mainly an economic development project, funded jointly by Ottawa (through the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration) (ARDA) and the province, and focused on the Lower St. Lawrence and Gaspe regions. By 1967, there were 70 permanent staff (researchers, economists, sociologists and social development officers), who were working with 140 community committees. This project, considerable in scale, was but one of the means by which Quebec society was seeking to modernize and secularize itself. Other community development projects, in the city of Montreal and with Native organizations, were launched in the sixties as well (Lloyd 1967).

The 1960s brought a social and political climate which was well disposed to citizen participation and to participatory methods such as community development (Bothwell, Drummond & English 1981). In 1965, the Pearson government, taking a leaf out of President Lyndon Johnson's book, declared "War on Poverty" on a broad front and set about by various means, including community development, to ameliorate the condition of many disadvantaged Canadians. The Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (and Administration) and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) both utilized educational as well as economic weapons in their efforts to improve the situation of people in depressed areas of the country. In the case of ARDA, a contract was signed in 1964 with the two national adult education associations, the CAAE and the ICEA, under

which the two associations would assist with the training of community development personnel. Two major national seminars and a series of other meetings were held for that purpose in 1965 (Selman 1985). The efforts of both senior levels of government were sporadic, however, and limited. In his evaluation of community development work in Canada published in 1967, A.J. Lloyd commented as follows:

> The commitment to community development in Canada has been too limited. The programs presently operating have been found to be too few in number, irregular in quality and uneven in distribution, and they have not been found to serve all deprived people throughout the nation. (Lloyd 1967:4)

Another important program initiative of this period was the creation in 1966 of the Company of Young Canadians (CYC). This was a brainchild of Prime Minister Pearson and was similar in concept to the Peace Corps in the United States, except its mandate was a domestic Canadian one. The concept was that young adults who were so inclined could contribute a year or two of their lives as volunteers (they received a subsistence wage) to carry out socially useful, developmental work where it was needed in Canadian society. The Company concentrated mainly on community development sorts of projects and from the beginning became a centre of controversy (Hamilton 1970). Some of the controversy was almost inevitable; the Company was after all in the "change business", and many elements in Canadian—as any other—society are disturbed when change is promoted. But the Company was also the author of many of its own misfortunes, many of its training activities for its own personnel being very badly handled and more important, much of the community development activity it carried out being incompetently carried out. The organization became a "storm centre" and the target of much bad publicity. Its financial management was at times in chaos and was at one point the subject of an investigation by a House of Commons committee. After some six years of a stormy history, the federal government decided it had had enough, and the Company was closed down in the early 1970s.

In 1971, a time of rising unemployment, the federal government launched another scheme, Opportunities For Youth. (OFY). It was meant to provide funding for student employment in the summer months for the purpose of carrying out projects they felt would be meeting community needs. The program continued until 1976. Although much useful work was performed, the young people often ran into the resistance of local agencies, which felt that the OFY projects were frequently misguided, and also saw that the projects would in many cases raise the expectations for service of groups in the community, expectations the regular agencies could not meet. And of course some of the projects were incompetently handled. The federal authorities first tried to regulate the system by instituting an ever-increasing series of administrative requirements of the local groups, but as has been mentioned, in the end cancelled the program entirely.

A somewhat similar or parallel program was instituted at about the same time for adults. Called the Local Initiatives Program (LIP), it was a make-work program for unemployed persons. It suffered many of the same problems as the OFY did, which was not very surprising. As Lotz has commented:

> In the case of OFY and LIP, untrained people were suddenly expected to plan, design, initiate and operate programs that provided meaningful employment for the participants for the community. The projects had to be "creative, original and innovative", and could range from converting a one-room school house into a community centre, to writing and publishing a history of a city, town or village. (Lotz 1977:55)

Many projects run under the LIP grants functioned in the area of providing social work, counselling and advisory health care services. In many cases, those involved were completely out of their depth; there were many casualties and much bad publicity was generated.

In spite of the difficulties experienced by the forementioned programs, other similar schemes were launched by the federal authorities. A Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) created community jobs for disadvantaged persons among the unemployed. Outreach was a Manpower sponsored program providing work for some categories of women and members of visible minorities. A Community Employment Program began in 1975 and was aimed at assisting unemployed persons to launch money-making ventures (Lotz 1977).

In the meantime, federal authorities responsible for Indian affairs had become convinced, at least as early as 1964 (Thomas 1964), that community development approaches had a great deal to offer to the end of enabling Native people to take a more active role in the management of their own communities. As is so frequently the case, on the one hand there was a wish to promote change, but on the other a resistance to such developments (See Castellano 1971; Rogers 1971; Lotz 1977). The federal government put considerable resources into the training of departmental personnel and Native leaders in community development methods. Considerable useful work was done, but much frustration generated as well. Alberta and Ontario followed Manitoba's earlier lead and created provincially-sponsored community development programs (as did Nova Scotia, for work among the black citizens, especially). The Native "Friendship Centre" movement became quite widespread, especially in the cities. The results of these various community development efforts among the Native Indians are difficult to assess. Certainly there are obvious cases where community development programs were frustrated, or foundered. On the other hand, it may well be the case that the most important result of this activity was not the success (or lack of it) of any particular projects, but rather whatever individual leaders in the Native communities learned which contributed to their subsequent effectiveness in assisting the First Nations people of the country along the road to the management of their own affairs.

Reference should be made as well to the fact that Frontier College, (which was described in Chapter 4), also moved into community development work in the

late sixties and early seventies. This was part of a new project undertaken by the College which involved getting contracts from provincial authorities under which the College would provide full-time workers, for up to two years, who would be posted to communities selected by the province to serve as community development agents. This did not ever become a major part of Frontier College's activities, but some important work was accomplished and this activity may be seen as a kind of bridge for the College from its traditional worker-teacher services to its current work in community-based adult basic education (See F.& N. McLeod 1971; Morrison 1989).

A further approach to community development which should be mentioned is represented by the modern "community school" movement. As has been mentioned already, there is a long history in Canada, going back at least to the "lighted schoolhouse" movement which began in the West in the 1920s, of the school serving as a centre for community life and development. Other factors, such as the Antigonish Movement in the Maritimes and the co-operative and folk school movements elsewhere have had an impact as well on the role of the schools in their communities. The modern community school movement, however, takes its lead from the work of the Mott Foundation, based in Flint, Michigan. That activity goes back as far as the 1930s, but came into special prominence during the sixties. In Canada, such work began in several provinces in the early 1970s (Prout 1977). The community school movement sees the neighborhood school (usually an elementary school) as a focus for community development, in the broadest sense of the term. The community school makes use of the resources of "its" community to enrich the educational experiences of the pupils in its care, but as well, it serves as a stimulus and an organizing centre for the community at large, assisting with community betterment planning and projects. The community school usually has on its staff, in addition to the regular teachers and administrators, a community school co-ordinator, who has particular responsibility for liaison with individuals and organizations in the community. There is also usually a broadly representative advisory council of persons from the community, who assist with the work. The community school movement has been received and supported with varying degrees of enthusiasm in the Canadian provinces, and they take various forms, not all in accordance with the "classical" Flint model. Essentially, however, the acceptance of the basic notion of schools functioning in this way in relation to its service area has been widely accepted. The community school may properly be seen in the context of community development work in Canada, and those engaged in community school activity have been among the most active leaders in such organizations as the Association for Community Education, both provincially and nationally.

It remains to point out that in addition to the various approaches to community development represented by the foregoing examples, a great deal more such work has been conducted in the last several decades. What the author has in mind

particularly is the role of the voluntary sector and the universities in activity of this kind. With the increased prominence of community development approaches, especially after 1960, the methodology was employed, in various ways and to varying degrees, by a number of voluntary agencies—such as some of the churches, the YWCA, many neighborhood houses, and multicultural and social planning organizations for example. In addition, many extension or continuing education departments of universities (especially in the West and the Atlantic Provinces) and community colleges were active in community development work. Examples are too numerous to mention, much less describe, but reference might be made to the work of the University of Saskatchewan and that of Memorial University of Newfoundland. A leading example of college-sponsored activity of this kind was the extensive program of Algonquin College, Ottawa, in its service region (Stinson 1971).

On the basis of this necessarily selective review of some Canadian experience with community development activities (and some further major examples will follow), it seems obvious that this form of linking education with social action has been extensively utilized in Canada. This fact leads to speculation as to whether the tendencies towards what has been termed communitarianism in Canadian society, (which were discussed in Chapter 2), have predisposed Canadians to adopt such community-based methodologies. Certainly there has been a rich tradition of such work over the decades in this country.

The Antigonish Movement

In the year 1945, E.A. Corbett, the Director of the CAAE, who had long been familiar with the co-operative education work of the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia, made a visit to that province and set about trying to assess the effectiveness of the program, which by that time had been under way for more than fifteen years. He describes his conversation with a fisherman who was cleaning his catch on a wharf in Cheticamp:

> "What do you think of this co-operative idea?"
> He looked at me warily as if to say, "Who are you, and what's your game?" Then he straightened up and said, "It works good. More money for the fisherman."
> "Yes, I know that, but what else?"
> "Well, I've got a better home, my children go to school well fed and well clothed, and we get medical attention or go to a hospital without being afraid of debt. We have a say in running our own business and believe me that makes a man feel good."
> (Corbett 1945:5)

In that brief exchange are revealed the main goals and something of the strategy of the Antigonish Movement. In his account of the work in its early years, Moses Coady explained:

> We consider it good pedagogy and good psychology to begin with the economic phase. We put our first emphasis on the material and economic that we may more

readily attain the spiritual and cultural toward which all our efforts are directed. (Coady 1939:112)

The Antigonish Movement was the term used to refer to the extension activities of St. Francis Xavier University, located in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. It refers particularly to their program of promotion and education about co-operative organizations as a means of improving the quality of life of the largely impoverished fishermen, farmers and industrial workers of the northeastern region of Nova Scotia. Begun officially in 1928, this work soon gained international fame in educational and development strategy circles and along with Farm Radio Forum is one of the two most widely recognized contributions of Canada to the field of adult education and national development.

St. Francis Xavier University is a Roman Catholic institution which was granted university status in 1866 and had a long tradition of close association with the people of its region. Many of its faculty, though they had gone away to Rome or elsewhere for their advanced education, grew up in Northern Nova Scotia and shared ethnicity and similar social backgrounds with the people of the region (Stabler 1987).

The intellectual pioneer of the Antigonish Movement was Father James Tompkins. He had been with the University since 1902 and had over the years developed a conviction that the institution must play a role in improving the everyday life of the people of the region (Crane 1983). In this connection, Tompkins studied relevant forms of adult education in other parts of the world. He came into contact with the Danish folk high school movement, and conducted a survey of university extension activities in Great Britain, the United States and other parts of Canada. On the basis of this experience he produced a pamphlet, *Knowledge for the People* (1921), in which he set forth proposals concerning the educational activities which his university might appropriately provide for the people of its region.

Drawing on inspiration from such activities as the Danish folk high schools, the Workers' Educational Association in Britain, the "new style" of university extension which had been pioneered by the University of Wisconsin and the credit union movement in the province of Quebec, Tompkins called upon the University to move outside its walls and play a part in promoting the material well being of its region and its people, in such areas as "the building and maintaining of good roads, the practice of modern and progressive methods of farming, the protection and promotion of public health, and the improvement and development of education" (Tompkins 1921:23). Most basic of all, he insisted that the university must "take and follow the opinion of the people themselves" (p.26), and that on the basis of such advice, the institution may "bring some measure of useful education to the great majority who stand and must remain outside the walls of our Colleges and Academies" (p.25). Such thinking led to the organization of an annual "People's School" (the first was held in 1921), a six week residential

program at the university which was attended by fishermen and farmers of the region, who came together to discuss their problems and possible solutions. Tompkins had by this time become a senior official of the university, but as a result of coming out on the losing side of a debate over a significant matter of university policy (largely unconnected with his thinking about extension work), he and several colleagues were removed from their university positions and assigned to rural parishes.

In the years that followed, Tompkins and others from outside the university, and interested parties from within, continued to argue the case. According to J. Lotz (1977), it was Tompkins' action in calling public meetings and arguing the case of the plight of the fishermen of the region (particularly Canso, where he was working) that led to the appointment of a federal Royal Commission on the situation of the fisheries in the Atlantic region, which in turn led to the creation of St. Francis Xavier University's extension program in 1928.

Father Moses Coady, a faculty member at St. Francis Xavier (and a cousin of James Tompkins) asked to testify before the Commission. According to the historian of the movement, Coady was already recognized as an "outstanding faculty member of St. Francis Xavier and one of the leading men in education in Nova Scotia" (Laidlaw 1961:68). Among the recommendations which he made was that of promoting among the fishermen the formation of producer and consumer co-operatives. In due course, this approach was endorsed by the Commission and appeared among its recommendations, along with the suggestion that the federal department make a special appointment of a suitable person "to initiate and complete this work" (Quoted in Stabler 1987:154). Coady was the logical person to take on this task. He came originally from the region, had gone abroad, to Rome and to Washington, D.C. for advanced training, had taken part in the People's Schools and related activity at St. F.X., and was familiar with the co-operative movement as it functioned in several parts of the world. Coady carried out the task of organizing co-operatives throughout the Maritime region in the subsequent ten month period (under his mandate from the government) and after that, was named Director of the newly-created Extension Department of the University.

Coady was the right man in the right job. He was a very large man, physically, and a born organizer. He was a charismatic figure, with what he described later in his life as "a soul that tends to poetry and idealism" (Quoted in Stabler 1987:154). He was a magnetic orator and frequently appeared in the role of main speaker at meetings designed to stir people to action—what Coady himself sometimes referred to as "intellectual bombing operations".

The Antigonish Movement is perhaps the most fully documented of Canadian adult education projects (See for instance, Armstrong 1977; Baum 1980; Coady 1939; Crane 1983, 1987; Delaney 1985; Laidlaw 1961, 1971; Lotz 1977; MacLellan 1985; Milner 1979; Stabler 1987). From these sources and many articles and

university theses which have appeared over the years, we have a fairly complete description of the goals of the Movement and of the methodologies which were employed by personnel of the Extension Department in their work.

St. F. X. continued in its commitment to focusing on the material well being of the people of its region. In his writings, Coady was anxious to explain the reasons for this, and he has been quoted in this connection above. He devoted a chapter of *Masters Of Their Own Destiny* (1939) to the subject. It was felt to be appropriate to begin with the practical, economic needs of the people, in the knowledge that only after these immediate needs were met could people begin to move on to higher things. He said in a broadcast in 1943, "Let us not forget that to be condemned to permanent economic poverty and social insecurity threatens life itself, closes the road to culture and stifles the very yearnings of the human soul for happiness" (Quoted in Laidlaw 1971:79). The ultimate goal of the services provided by the University was frequently described by Coady as helping the people they were serving to achieve "the good an abundant life" (See Laidlaw 1971:36-37).

The methodology of the Antigonish Movement was, in outline, fairly straightforward. The first step was normally a "mass meeting" of the people in a community. An early pamphlet produced by the University described it this way:

> At this meeting one or more professors give in general outline the problems confronting the people. It is explained that brain, not brawn, is the secret of human progress. The possibilities of life, whether for the individual or for the nation, will be realized in proportion to the ability to think. Education is explained as the instrument which enables a people to realize these possiblities. In the case of simple people it is comparatively easy to show them that, in the economic field at least, they have not taken advantage of all their opportunities.... This awakens them from their lethargy and inertia and puts them in a mood to begin the work. The general method of action is then outlined and the groups, or Study Clubs, which are formed at this meeting begin work in some particular field. (1935 pamphlet, quoted in Laidlaw 1961:74).

The study club is judged by most observers to be the key to the whole approach. By this means, the relatively small Extension Department organization was able to have an influence on thousands of study group members. The Extension Department produced materials for the groups to study, at first simple mimeographed circulars on topics of greatest interest to the members, such as: buying clubs, marketing pools, credit, the history of co-operation, etc. Beginning in 1933, however, the Department began publication of *The Extension Bulletin*, which contained study material for use by the local clubs and carried sections on different topic areas, such as: Education, Economic Studies, Credit Studies, Fishermen's Affairs, The Woman's Page, Labour Forum, and The Farm Study Club. It was an indication of the rapid development of the Movement that at the outset of this publication, ten thousand copies were printed (Laidlaw 1961). It has been pointed out by A.F. Laidlaw that not only did this new publication provide useful study

material for the clubs on a continuous basis, it also gave "many thousands of people the feeling of being in a movement" (Laidlaw 1961:81). This publication was renamed *The Maritime Co-operator* in 1939, and its publication was taken over by the co-operative movement itself.

There was also need for more in-depth study material, and this was met by the publication of a large number of pamphlets on study topics of interest to the study clubs. Laidlaw (1961) provides a list of 37 titles and indicates that they were only a sample of the total. A few examples include: The Study Club Way of Adult Learning, The Worker as a Consumer, What Price Life Insurance?, Credit Unions, Facts for Fishermen, Co-operative Buying Clubs, The Scientific Front Against Tuberculosis, and Maritime Techniques of Consumer Co-operation. Laidlaw points out that although some of the pamphlets subsequently went out of print, some, such as Joseph MacIsaacs' *Credit Unions*, was reprinted many times and had "wide circulation outside the Maritimes" (Laidlaw 1961:83). In addition to the wide circulation of these relatively inexpensive pamphlets, the Extension Department built up an extensive libray of study materials at the University.

There were several other types of group activity besides the study club. Community rallies were held once a month in many centres, and wider, area meetings were frequently held as well. All group members who could do so assembled once a year at the University, at the Rural and Industrial Conference. In addition, beginning in 1933, an annual Leadership School was held for the training of leaders in the study activity and the co-operative movement more broadly. Laidlaw asserts that these latter activites were particularly important in the spread of the Movement and its methodologies to other parts of Nova Scotia and the Maritimes region.

The immediate aim of the Antigonish Movement was to bring about an improvement in the economic and general living conditions of the people it reached. One measure of its work is the development in the region of the chief means adopted to bring about beneficial change, co-operative organizations. The period of most rapid growth of this work was the decade of the thirties. In his review of the project, E. Stabler (1987) provides some figures in this connection which tell at least part of the story. He points out, first of all, that the number of study clubs increased from 179 in 1932 to 1,300 in 1939, the number of members of the clubs increasing in the same period from 1,500 to 11,000. The number of credit unions increased from 8 to 170 in the same years. The total of several kinds of co-operative organizations, including stores, buying clubs, fish plants, lobster factories and other co-ops, increased from two in 1932 to to 85 in 1939. In the same period, the staff of the Extension Department increased from three full-time and two part-time persons in 1932 to eleven full-time and seven part-time by the end of the decade (Stabler 1987:159).

The remarkable achievements of the Antigonish Movement soon came to the attention of the world. This took place for a number of reasons. St. F. X. had

received financial support from both the Carnegie and Rockerfeller Foundations in its early years, (as well as from federal government sources). These organizations, with their close links with the international aid community, were at least partly instrumental in spreading the word about this important project. The international communications channels within the Roman Catholic Church were also no doubt important. Coady also travelled widely, doing a great deal of speaking, about the Antigonish Movement. By whatever means, within a very few years of its inauguration, the movement was recognized in other countries and within the international foreign aid community as being of outstanding merit, both in itself and as a model for development work in the emerging Third World. In the immediate post-war period, and increasingly thereafter, a flow of observers from other lands came to observe and study the methodology employed by the movement. Courses were organized for the purpose of explaining the Antigonish methodology and in 1945 a diploma program in social leadership was created as a way of providing a structured program of studies for those coming from abroad. In addition, a variety of shorter courses were organized in order to cope with particular interests. St. F. X. also began a practice of sending instructors to other countries to train practitioners in the methodology. Coady retired from the work in 1951 and passed away in 1959. In honour of his contribution to the work, the University created shortly following his death the Coady International Institute, which was to house and provide a study centre for the many international students and visitors who continued to come and learn about the work. With the opening of the Institute, a new eight-month diploma course was instituted in 1960, attended that first year by 23 students from twelve countries. Stabler has stated that within the next twenty-one years, "some 2,500 students from 111 countries came to the Coady for the diploma or other courses" (Stabler 1987:172).

In his relatively recent summary of the history of the Antigonish Movement, Stabler has termed the period from 1945 to 1959 as one of "maintenance and consolidation", as far as its domestic activities were concerned (Stabler 1987:169). In the subsequent period, the work has continued, with particular emphasis on international activities, but it has been a continuing struggle at home. The increasingly complex economy of the area has rendered the task of the co-operative organizations, and of those promoting the work, increasingly difficult. In a sense, the task has been to adapt the philosophy of the Movement to the ever more sophisticated economic milieu and the high-tech approaches of the international business community.

What the future of the Antigonish Movement will be is of course not known. The intention here is to show that in its day, and for a considerable period of time, it was a dynamic and world-famous means whereby people were assisted to exercise increased influence over the forces that shaped their lives. Speaking to the fiftieth anniversary conference of the Antigonish Movement in 1978, Allan MacEachen, then Deputy Prime Minister of Canada (and formerly a Professor of

Economics at St. F. X.) attributed the success of the Movement to several factors (In Milner 1979). He asserted that its "emphasis on human dignity and co-operation" found a strong response throughout the world as components of the development process. Secondly, its emphasis on comprehensive human development, including social and individual human betterment, not just economic development, had found a widespread response. In addition, he asserted that the Movement's reliance on co-operative approaches was seen to be particularly effective for mobilizing communities "with minimal resources". And finally, he stated:

> The fourth reason for success is the self-sustaining nature of development brought about by co-operative action. Because the organizations are locally controlled and leadership is generated from within, there are reduced risks that development will last only as long as there is support from outside. (In Milner 1979:14-15)

At the same conference, Father G.E. Topshee, at the time Director of both the Coady Institute and the Extension Department, described the Antigonish methods as "a peculiarly Canadian formula of development" (In Milner 1979). He quoted Msgr. M.J. MacKinnon as describing the formula as follows:

> a program of self-help and mutual help which takes the people where they are, even illiterates, and leads them to the highest possible level of human performance. It is inexpensive and easily applicable to large numbers of people over wide areas. It is also big enough philosophically and scientifically to appeal to the most fastidious. (Cited by Topshee in Milner 1979:152)

Revisionist historians such as J. Lotz (1977) have contended that the Antigonish Movement did not ever bring about truly radical social change, and that in fact it may have had the effect of forestalling such change, through making the capitalistic system more tolerable for those in Nova Scotia who were suffering from its shortcomings. In his *Catholics and Canadian Socialism* (1980), Gregory Baum cites several sources to this effect. Most would agree with Baum that in time, the Movement "lost its radical character" (Baum 1980:193), but it seems fair to conclude that the Movement was in its day an adult education movement which was a force for economic and social change.

This brief account of the Antigonish Movement will conclude with a statement of the objectives of adult education which was developed jointly by Moses Coady and E.A. Corbett of the CAAE and was used widely within the Antigonish Movement. It has been frequently quoted and was included by Corbett in the last chapter of his autobiography, which was published in 1957:

> (a) That the individual, his rights, his moral and spiritual significance, is of supreme importance in a democracy.
>
> (b) That social progress can only come about through improvement in the quality of human beings, and that improvement can only come through education.
>
> (c) That adult education must suit its efforts to the intimate interests of the individual or the group, and in most instances these interests are economic.
>
> (d) That adult education functions most effectively through group study and group

action.

(e) That the ultimate objective of all education, particularly adult education, is the development of the individual's capacity to live a fuller and more abundant life.

(f) That education, like religion, can only be truly vital in the measure of its freedom from external authority. (Corbett 1957:220-21)

A careful reading of the foregoing not only reveals something of the thinking of the times, but also brings home an awareness of the vast gulf which separates the thinking of these two giants of the adult education scene in Canada and the dominant philosophy of the current period.

NFB - Challenge for Change and Studio D

Earlier work of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) was described in the previous chapter. The intention here is to refer to particular work undertaken by the Board, in co-operation with other organizations, which involved a direct participation in the promotion of social change.

Challenge for Change was a product of the turbulent late 1960s. The NFB had from its earliest days, under the leadership of John Grierson, seen itself as being in the social change business. Grierson had long departed the Canadian scene, but the "War on Poverty", yeasty period of the late 1960s, in which there was so much emphasis on deliberate efforts to bring about social change, brought about fresh efforts in this direction. In 1967, the NFB approached several federal government departments, inviting them to join in the sponsorship of a special project "designed to improve communications, create greater understanding, promote new ideas, and provoke social change" (Quoted from cover, *Newsletter Challenge for Change* 1,1 (1968)).

The first *Newsletter* issued by Challenge for Change carried the following statement from the Film Commissioner of the day, Hugo McPherson:

> Why should such a proposal come from the Film Board? The eradication of poverty demands unorthodox ideas, and radical solutions based on them require new concepts of communication. For these purposes, film—used imaginatively and unequivocally—is the best medium. In the first place, unorthodox ideas are much more likely to be accepted if presented in emotional as well as intellectual terms, and film excels in communicating emotions; second, many members of the audience to be reached are semi-literate, but film communicates to them; third, participation in film activities can generate group action. Participation on local levels is a key element in these proposals. And finally, since its beginnings—through its films and its unique distribution system—the Board has been involved in social issues. Challenge for Change is an outgrowth, adapted to today's conditions, of strongly-rooted Board traditions. (*Newsletter*, Challenge for Change, 1,1 (1968)

The community development process calls for communities to assess their present state, make decisions about the direction of desirable change, acquire the resources necessary in order to bring about the change (from within and outside

the community) and proceed, if possible, to achieve the goals which were agreed upon. Ideally, the process then begins anew, with a new assessment and a new set of goals. One of the essential conditions of the community development process is the involvement of a high proportion of the members of the community in the various stages of the work.

Community development, as indicated earlier in this chapter, was a widely accepted social change strategy in the late sixties. Members of the NFB staff perceived that film could be used to strategic effect at several points in the community development process. It had particular potential for the early stages of the process, when the community in question was seeking to take stock of opinion about the state of the community and of views about changes that were desired. It was also seen that film could be a powerful instrument for communicating the wishes of the community to outside bodies, such as provincial and federal departments of government, whose assistance was necessary in the achievement of changes which the community was seeking. The Board conceived of an arrangement whereby their film-making expertise could be brought to bear in the community development process, under the guidance of those directing the work in the local community.

The first major experiment with the new process was as part of a community development project on Fogo Island, off the East coast of Newfoundland. This was a project headed up by the Extension Department of Memorial University of Newfoundland, in co-operation with the local people. The provincial government had proposed that 14 outports on the island be closed and the people settled elsewhere. The Extension Department established a process through which the people involved could jointly examine their wishes in the matter, and to the extent possible, decide about their own future. Donald Snowden, Director of the Extension Department, and Colin Low, film-maker with the NFB, became the leading figures in the project, and the further activities which were to flow from it. Low took his cameras to the outport settlements, where he interviewed many of the inhabitants concerning their feelings about their present life and possible relocation. Out of that work emerged some tremendously powerful documentary films, which were subsequently judged by the people involved to represent their views, and were used effectively to communicate the mood and the feelings of the local people to government officials. A newspaper report of the project conveys something of the outcome:

> No one can really tell to what extent the Fogo films were the catalyst in what then happened: Fogo was not closed down, communites which had never communicated began to exchange experiences, industries that were thought to be moribund sprang into new life and the Fogo series of films...became world famous for innovative use of media technology in the services of people. (Richarson 1981:7)

The Challenge for Change project moved on to community development activities in other parts of Canada and continued its activities until approximately

1980. Early in its life, perhaps by 1970, technological developments made it possible to convert from film to videotape as the means of recording, a much less expensive and less complex medium to work with. The project gained an increasing reputation for effectiveness and innovation, both at home and abroad. One student of the project has stated that it achieved "almost instant fame" and that within some two years of its inauguration, it was becoming well known "around the world" (Jones 1981:157).

Foreign observers were quick to see that the Challenge for Change process, which had turned out to be so powerful an instrument in the social change process, had potential for use in their countries as well. Observers from many countries came to Canada to examine the project. They were interested in the unique combination of film-making and community development, but as well frequently registered surprise over "how these strange Canadians managed to create what seemed like a socially revolutionary program with money provided by governments for which they were making trouble" (Richardson 1981:7). Foreign observers were interested not only in the film-making side of the project, however. The educators who had been involved in the early experiments, most notably Donald Snowden of Memorial University, were also in great demand as consultants in various countries.

There was another dimension to Challenge for Change besides the films/videotapes which were produced within community development projects. Films were also made which served other purposes. Some of these were documentaries which depicted the unsatisfactory conditions under which groups of Canadians were living. One of the best known of these was "Things I Cannot Change", a film depicting the life of a Montreal family living on welfare, the income from which simply did not go far enough. In addition, the project produced a series of films about the social change process and strategies for bringing change about. Most noteworthy among these perhaps were a series of films about the social change theories and practices of Saul Alinsky, the American community organizer. Thirdly, the Board made a series of films designed as "discussion starters" and focusing on the role of the citizen in social action.

Not all observers and students of Challenge for Change have been enthusiastic about it. Some of course have felt that it was not the business of a government agency to be deliberately stirring up "discontent" in the country. The NFB had lived with this critique from its very early days. As well, some writers have been concerned—with particular reference to the films which were made as part of the community development work—that the film-maker was relinquishing artistic control over the creative process in such circumstances. Typical of this view is D.B. Jones, whose chapter on Challenge for Change in his book *Movies and Memoranda* (1981) is sub-titled, "The Artist Nearly Abdicates".

By the late seventies, support from within government for the project had waned seriously. The project had begun as a partnership with nine different

government departments and the number had increased to some 17 during the decade. By 1978, however, the number had dwindled to two, and in the following year, Challenge for Change was allowed to "stand in abeyance" (Jones 1981:175).

Brief reference will be made as well to another unit within the National Film Board, "Studio D". It was created in 1974 and has served two main purposes. It provides an opportunity for women to acquire training and expertise in the various aspects of film-making. It also produces films which, in the words of an NFB descriptive folder, are aimed at "promoting personal, social and political awareness" (NFB folder, "Studio D"). In the same publication, the following declaration appears:

> We acknowledge feminism as an important political force which needs continued support and exposure. Therefore we are determined to continue making films and engage in other activities (sic) directly connected to the feminist movement. (NFB folder, *Studio D*)

In 1981 and again in 1984, the NFB published a catalogue of films *About Women and Change* (produced by the NFB and others), the latter containing several hundred titles. Perhaps the fullest description in the catalogue is of the Studio D production, "Not a Love Story: A Film about Pornography", which was produced in 1981 and was a powerful examination of pornography as a social phenomenon and industry. It is described in the catalogue as "one of the most controversial, widely discussed productions to come out of the Film Board in years" (NFB 1984:71). When the film was released, some of those in Studio D who were responsible for its production travelled around the country screening it for educational and other organizations and discussing its implications and getting advice about its appropriate uses. In its catalogue, the NFB recommends that the film be used in circumstances where there would be time for discussion afterwards, and indicates that supporting print material was available as well. This indicates the willingness of the Board to go beyond the mechanics of film distribution in seeing that its products are utilized for their maximum educational effect.

In conclusion to this further discussion of the role of the National Film Board in the promotion of social change, it is perhaps appropriate to return to the ideas of John Grierson. These are of more than historical interest in that in the many years since Grierson left the Board, it appears to have remained true to many of his ideas. In his examination of Grierson's principles, I. Lockerbie (1984) asserts that from 1940 on, "the education of the citizen" became his "dominating preoccupation" He adds:

> If education was to fulfill its role of extending the consciousness of the citizen, it had to be given the impact and power that the scale of the task demanded, and Grierson did not hesitate to define the methods it should employ as those of propaganda. In many contexts he makes no distinction between propaganda and

> education. Propaganda seems simply to be education given the punch that it needs to be effective in a mass society. (Lockerbie 1984:97)

It is not surprising that the work of the Film Board, to the extent that it reflected such a view over the years, has attracted its share of critics—inside Parliament and without. A number of scholars of the film medium have been negatively critical of what one has termed "manipulative and dictatorial" characteristics of Grierson's views. (Elder 1989). Elder comments further: "Grierson's films did not encourage active, free spectatorship; they made use of manipulative techniques that produce passive spectators" (Elder 1989:96). Such is the variance of views which one finds about Grierson and his work. That he led the NFB in the direction of making films which informed and stimulated Canadians to think about the nature of their country and to play an active part as citizens of their society, seems undeniable.

Public Inquiries: Focus for Change

It is not intended to devote very much space to this subject, but it is appropriate to point out that the appointment of royal commissions, government task forces and the like has, apart from their other functions in Canadian life and politics, been an important factor in public affairs or citizenship education. There is a considerable amount of cynicism in Canadian society about royal commissions, but anyone who is interested in public affairs education and its relationship to social change will have observed over the past several decades how important a formative influence the activities surrounding the conduct of such studies have sometimes been.

When the subject of royal commissions is raised, many Canadians think of two landmark commissions of recent decades, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Commission) which reported in 1951, and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which reported in stages in the latter half of the sixties. Both of these commissions set the agenda for developments in Canadian society in subsequent years and both stirred Canadians to thought and action as few such studies have. The Massey Commission rang alarm bells about the extent of American domination, or penetration of Canadian culture. Not all Canadians were alarmed about this matter, but it is clear that many signicant government actions followed from the Commission's recommendations, and that the attitudes and actions of many Canadian citizens were profoundly affected by the findings of the Commission's work. In the case of the "Bi and Bi" Commission, many subsequent government measures aimed at promoting bilingualism have flowed from the Commission's work. Perhaps equally important, the public response to the Commission "unexpectedly" changed the course of government policies in the socio-cultural field as it became clear that biculturalism was not an acceptable policy to major

portions of the Canadian population and that only a policy of multiculturalism would be acceptable (Ostry 1978).

It is not the political or policy outcomes of such studies to which attention is being directed here as much as the ways in which the appointment and conduct of such public inquiries play a part in policy and social change. The appointment of such commissions, task forces, panels, etc. are signals from government that (cynicism aside) a topic or set of questions is under active consideration and will in the future likely be the object of legislative or policy development. It is typical that individuals and organizations which have an interest in the topic area under review are moved to study the subject (or particular aspects of it on which they wish to express a view) and to formulate a submission. This usually involves undertaking research about the subject and arranging for a consideration by the membership of the organization of the proposed views to be expressed. Such procedures, at least in typical membership organizations, usually involve considerable study and educational activity.

Those who have studied such matters in Canada point to the special significance of the activities of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, which was appointed in the fall of 1952. This Commission, under the Chairmanship of William B. Baker, rejected from the outset the traditional pattern of behaviour of such bodies—having a few public hearings, commissioning relevant research and then coming to conclusions—in favour of a much more consultative or educational approach. The Commission was intent not just on consulting the people, but on informing or educating them. As Baker put it on one occasion:

> It is my personal conviction that in this age of mass societies it is imperative that we give increasing attention to the effective involvement of *all* people in the formulation of social and economic policies which affect their welfare. (Baker 1954:23)

The Commission developed a work plan which from the outset anticipated a three year period for its activities—a long period for such groups up to that time—and a continuous process of consultation with the people of the province. The consultations were built in to all phases of the work: consideration of the overall work plan; the formulation or structuring of the issues to be studied; consideration of the research which was undertaken; the tentative recommendations which were being considered; and after the reports of the Commission had been submitted, consideration of the implementation stage. In most if not all of the foregoing areas, consultations about the topics were carried out by means of local forums as well as provincial conferences. In sum, these approaches may be described as educational and participatory rather than "administrative" in character. The example of the Saskatchewan Commission was widely quoted in subsequent years, at least in adult education circles, and recommended as a model for many subsequent inquiries of that kind (See Selman 1985). The inquiry conducted by

Justice Thomas Berger beginning in 1973 about the possible effects of oil and gas pipelines in the MacKenzie River region of Nothern Canada has also been widely commented upon in terms of the process which was adopted, and clearly it involved extremely wide consultation with many of the people involved in the area, even if it did not follow the Saskatchewan model in all respects (Bothwell, Drummond & English 1981; M.S. Whittington in Whittington & Williams 1981).

The New Social Movements

In Chapter 1, we examined briefly the emergence since 1960 of a new style of political activity, what has been termed participatory democracy. A major element of this new approach is what social scientists have referred to as the New Social Movements (NSM). These are organizations which seek social change, not over as broad a front as many of the traditional voluntary bodies have done, but usually in one major area of focus—women's rights, ecological concerns, the rights of Native persons, peace and disarmament, etc.

The NSMs were a product in most cases of the remarkable social developments of the 1960s. This was a period in which many people, prompted by the writings of such authors as Daniel Bell, C. Wright Mills, William H. White, Vance Packard,John Keats, Albert Camus and Kenneth Galbraith, among others, began to be alarmed about the character of the social controls at work in Western society and were persuaded that there must be a re-assertion of a more personal influence in public life (See for instance Gitlin 1987; Hayden 1988). This in turn led to the creation of a number of organizations which were created as a vehicle for this new style of social action.

It is dangerous to generalize about the NSMs, but one can say that they are more prepared than were the more traditonal voluntary organizations to engage in strongly adversarial and confrontational tactics. They are ready to engage in public demonstrations, both as a personal statement of convictions and as a means of getting the attention of the public, through the mass media. The nature of these demonstrations runs the gamut from simple demonstrations of a point of view, such as a peace march, to actions which are obstructions of the normal activities of society, such as blocking a road or occupying the offices of a cabinet minister. From time to time, actions of the latter sort lead to violence. It is reasonable to assert that the NSMs embody and act on the basis of a radicalization of values concerning social issues (Offe 1985).

By virtue of their nature as "single issue" organizations and their operational style, which frequently involves confrontational methods, the NSMs have developed new approaches to the education of their members. This involves awareness or consciousness raising among the general public, the deepening of the knowledge of their chosen area of operation on the part of their membership, and the advanced training of a leadership corps.

A major part of the educational or informational activities of this new style of organization is directed at the general public and is aimed at increasing or spreading a "sense of problem" in the community. To take a specific example, that of the women's movement, the aim may be to demonstrate to women not already in the movement the extent of the problem and the unfairness or injustice of present conditions. Some of this educational activity is carried out in traditional ways—public meetings, classes and counselling, and writings on the subject. In addition, however, some of the newer, more activist women's organizations, are prepared to engage in public demonstrations and other forms of confrontational tactics. These serve the double purpose of putting pressure on the constituted authorities to comply with the demands of the movement, and also, through exposure on the media (especially television) to raise awareness of the issue elsewhere in the community. Such demonstrations thereby serve as "educational" events as well as social action events.

A great deal of educational or informational activity goes on within the NSMs for their already committed members. Through the usual devices of newsletters and other publications, meetings, courses and other means of conveying information and deepening convictions, educational work is carried out in an effort to advance the welfare and commitment of the membership. In the case of the women's movement, a specialized organization, the Canadian Congress on Learning Opportunities for Women, emerged in the seventies and has done important work in the field of education, as it affects women.

The leadership of the NSMs tends to be of two kinds. One of these is persons with advanced and specialized knowledge of the area of operations. In the case of disarmament or ecological concerns, for instance, these are persons who by virtue of their professional experience and/or academic study are particularly well informed about the subject. Indeed this advanced state of knowledge may have been the basis of their commitment to, or alarm about the area in question. Such leaders are particularly useful to the NSMs, both in attracting additional adherents and in being able to "stand up to" the experts ranged on the other side—in government, industry, the military, etc. These leaders also are important resources in carrying out educational activities for others, especially among the leadership group of the organization. In addition, many of the NSMs have a second type of leader, those who are skilled in organizational matters and in some cases, those who earn their recognition by virtue of their actions "on the firing line", in public demonstrations or acts of civil disobedience.

Another way of expressing the foregoing, perhaps, is to point out that there are two arenas of action on the part of the NSMs (just as there have been for the more traditional organizations), the external and the internal. In the former, the concern (in educational terms) is to influence and inform opinion in the community outside the movement. This may serve two purposes, to persuade additional persons to participate in the organization, or to alter the views of members of the general

public with respect to the issue in question. With respect to the internal aspects of their activities, the major goal may be to deepen the commitment of the members of the organization, either by making clear the dangers or injustices of present social policies, or by making it possible for the members to gain more information or skill that will enable them to participate more actively, or in a more informed fashion.

It has been pointed out as well that in the case of many of the NSMs, there are two levels or dimensions to the educational aspects of their work. There are the effects of learning that have to do with the person's role as a participant in the movement. The foregoing discussion has concentrated largely on this aspect. As well, however, there is a more personal level involved. To return to the example of the women's movement, much of the educational activity in which the movement engages is not aimed at producing active and informed participants in the women's movement, but rather at enabling women to get on with their personal lives, set goals for themselves and achieve the kind of life they wish to live. Similarly in the ecological movements, there is as well as the social or political action dimension, a concern for helping people shape their private, or personal practices, as they relate to ecological matters.

It has been pointed out that the activities and methods of the New Social Movements are based on a profoundly different view of social forces from that held in an ealier period, and by philosophically liberal social activists. The NSMs came about because of impatience with and lack of faith in the traditional social and political mechanisms. Rather than having faith that by persuading government or other major social institutions to change their policies, the particular situation can be rectified or emeliorated, the new, more "radical" movements have "raised the theme of the self-defense of 'society' against the state (and the market economy)" (Cohen 1985:664). This in turn leads to an effort on the part of many in the New Social Movements to bring about profound changes in outlook, and in some cases, in political and economic institutions as well.

It should be added that the Canadian Association for Adult Education has in recent years established working relationships with several of the New Social Movements. (This activity is described in Chapter 3). The significance of this initiative on the part of the CAAE lies in the effort to emphasize the crucial importance of the educational work of these organizations.

It is clear from the foregoing account that there have been many instances in the history of adult education in Canada which have involved the field in efforts to bring about social change. These have by no means been restricted to the examples cited here. The labour movement has a long history of activity in this field. Some of the churches have been active in promoting significant changes in social policy. As early as 1934, the United Church of Canada (the denomination was formed in 1925 as a result of a merger of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Canada), prepared and issued a major statement entitled "Christianity

and the Social Order", which was the subject of widespread study across Canada. That denomination has on a number of occasions over the decades taken a strong stand on matters of social policy, one of the most recent being its statement on "Economic Development and Social Justice", which was submitted to the Macdonald Commission on Canada's economic future in the mid-eighties (In Drache & Cameron 1985). The declarations of the Canadian Catholic Bishops in recent years are also well known, and have been widely studied within church organizations. One of the most remarkable of the longer-established voluntary organizations in the country, in terms of its capacity to move with the times, is the YWCA. In the early stages of the women's movement in Canada, it played a leading part, and it has subsequently participated actively in efforts to bring about social change. As recently as 1988, it has endorsed as one of the principles of its "Mission Statement" that the organization "shall be a voice for women in Canada, a source of public education on women's issues, and an advocate of social change" (YWCA Operational Mission Statement 1988).

It is clear from the foregoing that the adult education movement in Canada has been very active in education for social change. A number of the most outstanding and best known adult education projects in this country over the last several decades fall into this category. In this and the previous three chapters, ample evidence is presented of the extent to which citizenship education may justifiably be judged to be a major pre-occupation of adult education in Canada.

7

A Tradition Renewed?

Having come this far in examining at least some of the highlights of the history of adult education for citizenship in Canada, it remains to think of the future. In this concluding chapter, three tasks will be undertaken. An attempt will be made to sum up the present situation with respect to citizenship education for adults; some points of view which impinge upon possible future directions will be examined; and some alternative courses of action in this field will be described.

The Present Situation

Canadian adult education is well known in the international educational community for its contributions in the field of citizenship education. Some of the famous Canadian programs and projects, all of which have been described in this volume, have included the Antigonish Movement, National Farm Radio Forum, the Women's Institute movement, Frontier College, the NFB's Challenge for Change project, and the Joint Planning Commission. Some of these projects are still in operation and are performing vigorously, but some have been terminated, or are not as lively as they once were. None would doubt that Canada has a record of outstanding achievement in this field, but the question does now arise as to whether all our great deeds are behind us. It seems reasonable at this point, while recognizing the accomplishments of the past, to call on Canadian adult education to demonstrate its creative response to the needs of today.

It is possible that a generation from now, educators will look back to the present period and see outstanding accomplishments which are not apparent to us at the present time. But as far as one can judge, we cannot point to as creative a contribution in this field today as we witnessed in past decades. Why is this so? It is certainly not the case that Canadians have lacked dramatic issues to which to respond. One has only to mention a few events of the last twenty years in order to conjure up the nature of some of the issues we have faced: Quebec separatism, the constitutional debates, the repatriation of the Constitution and the writing of the Bill of Rights, the Free Trade debate, the Meech Lake Accord and the land claims of the First Nations people. Examining such a list simply brings to mind

the almost complete absence of any creative response from the field of organized adult education (People Talking Back is perhaps the only exception) to the great events of our time in Canada. Certainly there has been no response to these challenges which is commensurate with our achievements of the past.

It has been suggested that as the field of adult education has become more professionalized and institutionalized over the most recent decades, it has become less interested, as a field, in promoting social change, and indeed, in having goals of its own at all. It has adopted a posture of serving the goals of others rather than having ones of its own. One writer has accused the field of adopting a "service ethic" as a substitute for a significant sense of direction (Rockhill in Taylor, Rockhill & Fieldhouse 1985). Such a stance absolves adult educators of any responsibility for the direction of social development, placing it instead in the hands of the individual learner, or where government or some other agency is the purchaser of services, in the hands of that group. In keeping with such a stance, the field is satisfied with providing services which are purchased (by employers, Manpower authorities, etc.) and otherwise to offer a "cafeteria" selection of courses to the general public, to which they may respond as they see fit.

To this "philosophical" position on the part of many adult educators and adult education institutions in recent years has been added financial pressures which have tended to inhibit programming in the field of public affairs. Neo-conservative political and social policies in many of the Western countries over the past decade or more have had the general effect of forcing the educational institutions (especially in the post-secondary sector) to cut corners financially and increasingly to operate on something approximating a "user pay" policy. This has caused continuing education units within educational institutions to place ever-increasing emphasis on those parts of their programs which serve vocational interests, and other private interests for which people are willing to pay relatively high fees. It has worked against areas such as citizenship or public affairs programming.

The author has recently carried out a study of the adult education offerings of all the large public educational institutions in the Vancouver area—the universities, the colleges and the school boards. Many of these institutions have been notable in the past for their work in the field of public affairs education. On this occasion (January 1990), there was an almost total absence of any programs focusing on public affairs issues, one or two on ecological issues being the only ones out of a total offering of many thousands of courses. This would seem to be convincing evidence of the fact that a combination of financial pressures and a lack of professional commitment to this area have brought its virtual abandonment by the public educational sector in at least one major urban area in Canada. In his *Masters of their Own Destiny* (1939), Moses Coady entitles one of his chapters, "The Default of the People". He points out that people have lost control of their affairs by turning them over to managers and boards of directors of private corporations, rather than managing their affairs themselves, through co-operative or-

ganizations. Those who feel that our public educational institutions have a responsibility to be actively programming in the field of public affairs issues will have a sense of "the default of the educational institutions" over this matter at the present time.

On the other hand, there are more hopeful signs. Many voluntary organizations in Canada are playing a vigorous part in attempting to influence public policy, and in the process providing opportunities for many of their members to learn about aspects of citizenship, in ways such as those described in Chapter 5. Examples which have been referred to earlier include labour organizations, the Women's Institutes, the United Nations Association in Canada and the YWCA of Canada, to name but four.

In the previous chapter, attention was given to the "new breed" of voluntary organizations, the New Social Movements.

They tend to be focused on single issues, or related clusters of issues—women's rights, peace and disarmament, environmental concerns, human rights, Native land claims, etc.—and in each of these areas, albeit with uneven results, these organizations are carrying out educational activities for their own adherents and for the general public. As described in Chapter 3, the Canadian Association for Adult Education is making a concerted effort to work with and advise a number of these organizations with respect to their adult education activities.

One can take some comfort from the fact that although the public educational institutions seem to be abandoning any significant role in citizenship education for adults, the voluntary sector, both the older associations and the New Social Movements, are playing their part. If there are grounds for concern about this matter, they lie, perhaps, in the issue as to whether the public good will be adequately served by the "mix" which is produced by conflicting private interest groups. Who is speaking for the public interest? Or is it enough that the various social movements pursue the interests of society as they see them to be?

Conflicting Views

There is in the present period a ferment of philosophical ideas concerning the appropriate goals of adult education. Brief reference was made to this matter in the first chapter of this volume. The issues at stake in that debate have profound implications for the role of the field in public affairs or citizenship education. One school of thought, which is perhaps dominant in North American society, is relatively comfortable with the tendencies in the field to respond to individual needs and to take its lead from the expressed wishes of individuals and groups (especially establishment-oriented ones) in society. This point of view does not, of course, exclude giving due attention to issues of social justice and the needs of disadvantaged groups—quite the contrary.

The other point of view rejects this "needs meeting" approach and calls upon

the field to have social goals of its own. A leading example of this view is that of Colin Griffin, who calls upon the field not to be satisfied with "an ideology of needs, access and provision", but rather to see the field as a way of changing society. He calls for a curriculum of adult education which concerns itself with "the wider issues of knowledge, culture and power" (Griffin 1983:33,65). Returning to the language and issues dealt with in the first chapter of this book, it is appropriate to point out that Griffin is rejecting a welfare state view of the field, which he identifies with the "needs meeting" approach, and instead sees society from the conflictual paradigm perspective. He urges upon us an approach to adult education which "has to do with the issue of redistribution rather than its individualistic, middle class ethos" (Griffin 1987:251).

Many other authors and points of view could be brought into this discussion, but perhaps the foregoing is sufficient for present purposes. The point to be made is that while the former, liberal view of the field has led to the present state of affairs, in which adult education has in large measure come to concentrate on vocational and other individual and socially-approved areas of service, the social transformation view represented by Griffin, Freire and others would clearly lead to the field giving more of its attention to the basic nature of our society. Liberals would argue that the present state of affairs is not the logical or necessary outcome of their beliefs, but rather is subject to correction or adjustment as society sees fit.

Alternative Models

It is instructive, in considering the possible future of Canada's provision for adult education about citizenship matters, to examine the way in which this is handled in other countries. Two models will be considered, that of Scandinavia (mainly Sweden) and the situation as it has developed in many of the Third World countries.

A world famous aspect of adult education in Sweden, where the participation rate of adults in organized educational activites is perhaps the highest in the world, is that of the "study circle". These are organized, with state support, by some eleven national associations. The latter are in most cases affiliated with one or other of the social movements in the country—the temperance movement, several church denominations, political parties, the YMCA and YWCA, and the Workers' Educational Association (which is allied with the labour movement). Colin Titmus has stated that the annual enrolments in the Swedish study circles "are equal to over sixty per cent of the whole Swedish adult population" (Titmus 1981:68). The study circle movement began in the early years of the present century and in the program year 1987-88, there were approximately 312,000 study circles functioning, with some 2,640,000 participants (Swedish Institute 1990). The essential character of the study circle is that it is a "circle of friends", who choose the subject to be studied and plan their approach to it, usually with the as-

sistance of study guides produced by the sponsoring organizations (See Blid 1990). The subject matter of study is extremely diverse, ranging from formal education to all manner of non-formal study. No figures are available on the number of groups which study public affairs or citizenship topics, but recent figures indicate that some 22.2 per cent of both study circles and participants studied in the field of "social and information sciences" (Titmus 1981). L.P. Oliver (1986) has more recently stated that three-quarters of study circle hours were devoted to "general cultural subjects and civic affairs" and that generally, there was an increase in the study of "civic and public issues" (Oliver 1986:32-33). In a study conducted two years earlier, W.E. Styler (1984) stated that there was a trend away from the study of public affairs issues, but he still referred to "the relative success of Sweden in social and political education for adults" (Styler 1984:202).

The essential point for present purposes is that by means of the state support provided to the study circle movement, Sweden (and other Scandinavian countries) provides public subsidy for adult education which is essentially in private hands. Using something very close to the British concept of "Responsible Bodies", government in large measure pays the cost of adult study, in the apparent belief that if adults are learning, this will work to the public good. This tradition of making public funds available for adult education which is sponsored by private associations is generally not one which has been developed in North America, although there have been, and are exceptions.

There are variations of the Swedish model in other Scandinavian countries. Only one will be mentioned, the case of Denmark. In that country, there is a traditon of what is usually translated in the English phrase, "public enlightenment". The concept is essentially the same as in Sweden, with public funds being granted to educational activities under private control. The chief difference between the two systems is that whereas in Sweden (and elsewhere) the public subsidies are channelled through a relatively few national agencies, in Denmark, grants are made directly to hundreds of local agencies (Titmus 1981). This activity takes a great diversity of forms, but the general aim of such education is "that by receiving it people will acquire a coherent understanding of and an active commitment to the issues which the information is about in their social and cultural context" (Jacobsen 1989:131). Such "understanding" and "commitment" would seem to lie at the heart of any sense of democratic citizenship.

A very different approach to such matters appears to be typical of many Third World countries. In many countries of the Third World, education about the state and the social system is sharply divided. The form of it which is approved by the constituted authorities is carried out in the formal system and by the public educational authorities. But a great deal of it falls within the field of "popular education", lies outside the scope of the public authority, and in fact is very commonly seen to be in an adversarial relationship to government.

The following is a description of popular education provided by a participant in a conference in Argentina in 1986:

> Popular education for the public (the "masses") advocates and prepares adults with the capacity for social and political change.... Formats for popular education are participant-centred—small group discussions, neighbourhood forums, no lectures or experts. They are held usually when workers, farmers, housewives and community workers have free time. Popular education is carried out primarily through *greminales* (trade unions), *campesinos* (farmers' groups), and *barrioles* (neighbourhood organizations). They often start with feeding people, providing them with medicine, inoculations, and physical examinations, or economic assistance. However they start, however the participants are attracted to the programs, popular education eventually leads to small group discussions or study circles on political affairs.... TV and newspapers tend not to be used, although single-issue oriented brochures, flyers and pamphlets are circulated widely, and radio is used extensively in rural areas. The aim of popular education is to create civic awareness through adult civic education, individual capacity for self-government, and new leadership—all critical in fostering new national democratic systems.... (Oliver 1987:45)

Many other accounts have been published of the ways in which adult education in such settings is being used to liberate people from social policies—even educational policies—which are "consciously repressive" and aimed at "social domestication" (Martin 1983). A further glimpse of the goals of such popular education is provided by a Mexican educator:

> The main goal of the popular educator should be to help the people reclaim their collective history so that they can bring about the structural changes that ensure the fulfilling of their needs and wishes, both in their daily lives and on a broader cultural level. This is the building up of popular power. (Cadena 1984:34)

These are enough examples, perhaps to indicate something of the nature and purposes of popular education as it exists in at least some Third World countries. The essential point for present purposes is that in many such countries, educational activities about what we would describe as citizenship matters must, if it is to be free of ideological restraints, divorce itself from the public authorities and operate in the private sector, usually in a confrontational and adversarial relationship to the state.

These are two existing models of how a society may deal with the matter of citizenship education. The popular education movement in the Scandinavian countries is to a large extent subsidized by the state and seen to be an accepted part of the functioning of the democratic system. The Canadian/British tradition of "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition" comes to mind. There is a readiness to support educational activities, even though it may well be the case that the values being promoted are other than those acceptable to the government in power. (In Denmark, state support goes to some avowedly anarchist groups which do not believe in government at all.) Alternatively, in some Latin American countries and elsewhere, education free of ideological restraint is not accepted by the

constituted authorities and must take place outside the system.

In Canada, we have traditionally accepted some of both. We have seen it as the function of the public educational system to carry out educational activities which are free, within limits, to question existing policies and raise for discussion matters which governments at times would just as soon not have discussed. On the other hand, we have assumed that other organizations in society are free to preach a gospel which is contrary to the public policy of the day, and to attempt to win adherents to their views.

It would appear that something has gone seriously wrong with the foregoing assumptions. Adult educators in the public educational institutions appear to have retreated from a role in public affairs or citizenship education. In some cases, there is an assumption that the mass media can do the job better. For reasons described earlier, such adult educators find themselves in a financial squeeze and frequently are not able to program in the field of public affairs even if they were inclined to do so. For some of the same reasons, there is an increased tendency to respond as organizers to articulated needs on the part of individuals in the community and to feel less keenly, if at all, a "responsibility" to the community to deal with citizenship and controversial issues.

The matter of controversy associated with public affairs questions is a further discouragement to programming in these areas. There has been a profound change in that respect. Programming about public issues has always had its risks for the educator and the educational institutions. But there has been a readiness on the part of the public to accept a role for the public educational institution in raising controversial matters for discussion, with the condition that such questions are looked at in a balanced way, and within certain acceptable limits. But the world has changed. With the increased prominence of the New Social Movements and their readiness to engage in strongly confrontational tactics in their advocacy efforts, including public demonstrations, media events and civil disobedience, the "atmosphere" or context of the discussion of many public issues has profoundly changed in Canadian society. It would be a brave—perhaps foolhardy—adult educator indeed who would put on a program for the general public about policy on abortion, Native land claims or certain ecological questions. The institution would run the risk of the program itself being disrupted, and in all likelihood would not be willing to risk alienating, inadvertently or otherwise, a significant section of the public. It is simply safer not to take the risks at all. In this way, the world has become a more dangerous place in which to program about controversial issues. The climate which has been created by the new style of social movements and their tactics has had the effect of circumscribing even those adult educators who might otherwise be willing to organize active programs in the field of education about public affairs.

If we are to conclude that the traditional understanding in Canadian society as to how to provide education about public affairs is showing signs of breaking down

(with the virtual disappearance of the public educational institutions from this work), then what is to be done? Certainly the private and voluntary organizations will continue to be looked to for a strong role in this field. But if the present situation is allowed simply to drift, we run the danger of moving towards the Latin American situation described above, in which a deep division exists between the public and private sectors and a damaging adversarial climate is created.

A much more satisfactory solution, it seems to the author, is to actively explore the Scandinavian patterns of providing education about citizenship concerns. This would involve devoting public funds to support the educational activities of voluntary organizations—both existing ones and perhaps new organizations (analogous to the Swedish ones already described) which could be created to help carry out this task.

As the conclusion to this book is written, increasingly widespread doubts are being raised in Canadian society as to whether the country can hold together. And serious questions are being asked about whether the policy of multiculturalism, which has been pursued officially for some two decades, is leading to a breakdown of the Canadian social fabric. Canada does not lack challenges. The ones facing us now strike at the heart of our very existence as a community. Can a country which is second to none in terms of its demonstrated capacity to respond creatively to the problems which it has faced in its public life, fail to respond now? That is the question, and that is the challenge. A tradition must be renewed—before it is too late.

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